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AN

ADDRESS

TO THE

Freemen and Freeholders

OF THE

NATION

In Three Parts.

Together with

Reflections on a PAMPHLET,

STILED

A Just and Modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the Two last PARLIAMENTS:

OR,

A Defence of His Majesties

Late Declaration.

All by the same AUTHOR.

LONDON,

Printed for *George Wells* at the Sun in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard. 1683.

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MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

AN ADDRESS TO THE FREE-MEN AND FREE-HOLDERS OF THE NATION.

The Second Edition.

LONDON:

Printed for *George Wells*, in S. *Pauls* Church-Yard, 1683.

THE

Author to the Reader.

IT may possibly be thought that the Itch of Writing in this scribling Age, hath call'd me out of my safe retirement, to speak my mind at a time when I might with more security have kept my thoughts to my self.

But I do assure my Reader it is nothing so, for having many years since from the Course of things conjectured what would be the Event of them, I yet abstained from troubling the World, believing that nothing I could say would be regarded for the Publick Good, tho it might to my private damage, it being more easie and usual to revenge a supposed Injury than to acknowledge a kindness.

I have also observed that others who have stept forth before me on the same Charitable Account have met with worse than bad Language; and I thought it better to be warned by their harms than to wish I had.

But finding the disturbers of our Peace every day more insolent, and not only to whisper the poyson of their disloyal Principles in corners, but publickly own them in the face of the Sun, and seeing also that the Success was above what they had any reason to expect. I thought it was a mighty reproach to us, that they should venture more for the ruin of the Government, than I and others durst for its preservation.

So trusting on the Providence of God and the Protection of my Prince, I resolved to do the best I could to stop that inundation of Misery which will certainly follow if not timely prevented, from those ill Men, and ill Principles; which have formerly imbroyl'd us by the same Ways and Means, tho not upon the same Occasions.

The following Discourse then is designed only to that End, and if it may have that Effect, I shall desire no more than my share in that blessing with the rest of the Nation.

The Persons for whom I intend it, are not the Great and Learned for they know these things better than I do, but my Country Neighbours, who being otherwise employed have not had the leisure that was necessary to reflect upon these things; and what would be the Event of them, but being hurried on by a great zeal against Popery and Arbitrary Government, and believing those men that seemed most to declaim against them, were the most

likely

likely to ſecure the Nation from thoſe two dreadful things, have before they were aware of it, beyond their deſigns or intentions, ſet us not only within the reach of theſe Miſeries, *but indangered the bringing them on by a* Civil War, *to the utter Ruin of the Nation.*

In the interim I wiſh they would conſider, That ſhould either Popery *or* Arbitrary-Government *be attempted to be impoſed on us, whilſt we ſtood Stoutly and Loyally to the* Religion Eſtabliſh'd *and the* Monarchy, *the Deſign would certainly miſcarry together with the Author. But on the other ſide, if we ſhould be ſhatter'd into Factions in* Religion *as we were in the Late Rebellion, and every man permitted not only to Follow but Teach his own Phancies and Modes of Religious Worſhip, the* Jeſuits *would under the diſguiſes of ſuch men inſtill what Principles they pleaſed into the Common People, and wheedle them into Popery again before they knew where they were, or put them upon other things that were full as bad as Popery.*

And if we ſhall likewiſe purſue the Old Deſign of Changing this Antient Monarchy *into a* Common-Wealth, *as it is madneſs to think it can ever be done without a ſharp Deſtructive War, ſo the Event of that is the moſt uncertain thing in the World*

World; but we are certain if ever it happen, Miseries enough will attend it, and there are many Living that remember what they ſuffered in the laſt. But then it is Ten Thouſand to One if it ends not in an Arbitrary Government, *and that a* Monarchy *too; for as no* War *can be manag'd without a General, ſo it will not be poſſible when he hath Conquered others to make him and all his Aſſiſtants ſubmit to them that Employed him and them. And ſo we may change our preſent* Monarchy *for another* Oliver Cromwell *who was as* Abſolute *as the King of* France. *But what ſhall we get by that? And again, ſuppoſe we could ſet up a Parliament without a King, would not this be an* Arbitrary-Government? *Are not the Gentlemen of* Venice *as* Arbitrary *in their way as the* Grand Seigneur, *and the People as much Slaves there as under the moſt* Abſolute *Prince in the World: Who ſhould then Protect us from the Injury of a Potent Parliament man? Who ſhould hinder them from Levying what Moneys they pleaſed upon us, and then dividing it amongſt themſelves, as they did in the Late Times? can any man imagine they would not Divide all the Places of Truſt and Profit amongſt themſelves and their Relations, and then perpetuate their own being as a Parliament, and ſecure all Elections to themſelves and their Friends, and ſo make all the reſt of the Nation truckle under them in Poverty*

and

and Slavery? what hath been may be, and, which is more, will be if this ſhould happen.

But on the other ſide, ſhould we enter another War with our King and he get the Victory, what ſhould hinder him from giving us what Laws he pleaſed? and we have no reaſon to think he durſt if he would, reſtore us to that Liberty *we now have, and muſt then be ſuppoſed to have abuſed. And let no man deceive you ſo far as to perſuade you this is improbable, for though his Majeſties Father did not begin the laſt War, till he had loſt all the means of a War, yet he reduced the Parliament to thoſe Streights that they had no other way to ſave themſelves then, but to call in the* Scots, *and yet* Ireland *was imbroyled by the* Papiſts, *and* Scotland *but juſt quieted after a Rebellion; So that neither of thoſe Nations lent him the leaſt Aſſiſtance, and is there any reaſon to believe all theſe Accidents will happen together again.*

But ſuppoſe now a Foreiner ſhould ſtrike in to help the Weaker ſide and Conquer both, what think

you of Arbitrary Government *and* Popery, *then?*

For my part I have thought of it as Seriously as any man, and I cannot see how Popery *can ever be set up again in this* Nation *by any other way? it being one of the smallest Factions in the Nation and most hated, and the late Plotters were not such Fools as to hope to introduce it by any other means; for though a* Toleration *may possibly do it, yet it will take so much time, and be lyable to so many Disappointments, That I heartily believe their Patience would never have held out till it could have been brought about that way, but this of a Forein Conquest will work the feat quickly and irresistibly.*

Suppose now in the last place, after another War, we should settle as now we are, what recompence should we have for all the Blood and Treasure it would cost us? What hath the Nation got by all that was spent in the last but Excise *and* Chimney-money; *And a necessity of maintaining the Expence of the Government to the End of the World out of our private Estates, now all the Crown-Lands are gone.*

But

But you will ſay, Who intends to Rebel or begin a War? I Anſwer, Every one that endeavours to make the preſent Government uneaſie, ſuſpected, impracticable. Without a Government we cannot be, nor that without Laws and Supplies, and he that hinders theſe two from having their due courſe, will introduce a War Forein or Domeſtick, whether he intends it or no. It is ſuppoſed generally the King cannot long ſubſiſt without Money, (how truly I will not diſpute) that is, he cannot maintain the Government; then this muſt be had in a legal or an illegal way, or the Government will be ruin'd for want of it. If in an illegal way then Arbitrary-Government *comes in, if it be ſubmitted to, and a War if it be not: So you ſee here is no way to avoid it, but by opening the Legal ways which perhaps the Folly of ſome Men and the Knavery of others would foreclose.*

But we are not only in danger of a Domeſtick but a Forein War too, the King of France *takes in* Flanders *apace, and all the World knows he had been Maſter of it before now, but that his Majeſty interpoſed. Now ſuppoſe he ſhould Conquer it and his Majeſty not be able to hinder it for want of Money, what ſhall hinder him then from invading*

us in the next place, and if we be divided and jealous each of other and of our King too, What can prevent our Ruin?

But you will say, his Majesty may have Supplies if he will comply with his Parliament, and I say if you will Choose him such a Parliament as you ought, he will certainly comply with it; but if you Choose him such men as Ruin'd his Father by complying with them, and they will not supply him but upon such Terms as he cannot Grant, without Ruining the Monarchy *and himself too, or (which is all one) which he believes will have that Effect, he will certainly run any Hazard rather than* Dethrone *himself by his own Act, because that is the worst thing that can happen to him, by a Forein or Domestick Enemy as his Father found by sad Experience.*

So then I must conclude, whoever shall bring the Government into these Difficulties, design a War, in which Case if speedy Care be not taken, an Arbitrary Government *or a War must follow, and it may be both.*

But you will say, if the King will but consent to disinherit the Duke of York, *the quarrel is at an End.*

End. I ſay No, but if the Duke were dead, the King would be in the ſame Condition, for beſides diſinheriting of the Duke of York, *we muſt have none in any Office but* Sober Proteſtants, *Enemies to* Popery *and* Arbitrary Government; *and of this they muſt be Judges who call the* Religion *Eſtabliſhed* Popery, *and the* Monarchy, *an* Arbitrary Government. *And when this is Granted, the King muſt have no* Guards, *no* Privy-Counſellors, *no* Judges, *but what they pleaſe. And a Parliament to ſit till they have done the buſineſs of the Nation, and Secured the* Proteſtant Religion *from all poſſibility of being* Deſtroyed, *or* Changed: *that is, to the End of the World. And when he hath Granted all this, he will have nothing more to part with but his Life, and long he will not be able to keep that neither.*

So I conclude, he neither can nor will ever Grant theſe things, and I am morally aſſured that ſuch a Parliament as will not be contented with leſs, will infallibly bring on a Change of the Government, *or a War in a ſhort time either Forein or Domeſtick, and whoever hath a hand in ſending up ſuch a Parliament, muſt be accountable to God and Man for the Conſequences.*

But

But on the contrary, would you (when his Majesty permits it) Choose honest Country Gentlemen, that Love neither the Dissenters *nor the* Papists, *they would secure you and the Nation from* Popery, Arbitrary Government, *another* War, *and a Change of the* Government, *and* England *should once more become the Ballance of* Christendom, *the Terror of* France, *the Bulwark of the* Reformed Religion, *the Joy and Paradise of the whole Earth.*

The Design of the following Discourse, (*how well or ill soever done*) *is to shew you how, and by whose means we were brought into this Condition. Not to Augment your Fears and Jealousies, but your Sagacity and Prudence, to which the other two are the greatest Enemies in the World, especially when they are not reasonable, or are pretended by others to deceive. It is or was, a Custom amongst* Huntsmen *to hang a long Line full of Painted Feathers, and then with that Line to encompass a feeding Deer, the poor Animal being equally afraid of the Hunters and the wagging Feathers, runs in a round and is ruin'd by her own* Fears *and* Jealousies, *where there is no Cause more than by the* Real Dangers, *which she would easily*

other-

otherwiſe have Eſcaped. I ſhall not need to make the Application.

That the God of Heaven would be pleaſed to bleſs the Work that it may contribute ſomething to the quieting of the Nation, is all I ſhall add, and ſo

Farewel.

FINIS.

TO MY DEAR

COUNTRY-MEN,

AND ALL

That Seek the Prosperity

OF

ENGLAND.

THO the great and holy God hath lockt up the knowledge of all future and contingent Events in the sacred Cabinet of his own Breast, in a Light that is unapproachable, in a Silence that is never to be opened, in a Recess that is impenetrable, and unsearchable to the greatest and most illustrious Angel in Heaven, and much more to the pore-blind Sons of Lapsed *Adam*: yet besides that, he himself is sometimes pleased to give Mankind a general confused Notion of what is coming upon them, to the intent they may prepare themselves by Repentance to divert, or mitigate his Judgments, or by Patience and a generous and Christian Fortitude, to bear the Chastisements of this great and holy God for the Sins of the World. Besides this, he in his Providence hath endowed Mankind with an excellent discursive faculty, which grounding upon what is past, and observing the

tempers of Men and the State of things that are preſent, and comparing them together, the unlearned as far as their own memory will reach, or the diſcourſes of others of greater Age or Learning may inform them, may with much probability conjecture what is coming; and altho theſe foreſights in the *many*, are very obſcure: yet if they would conſult their Reaſons at the ſame time, and call upon God for his Aſſiſtance to direct them, they might be of great uſe to them and to the World, and prove as they are deſigned to be; great Bleſſings.

And had God done no more than this for mankind, their Obligations had been great and they could only have blamed their own wickedneſs or folly, if a Domeſtick Calamity, ſuch as a Civil War or Rebellion had overtaken them unawares and without ſome ſort of foreſight of it. But then his Providence hath provided much better for us: he hath given us the Story of the World from its creation to the fall of the *Jewiſh* State, the truth of which is indiſputable and commonly known. And when thoſe inſpired Pen-men ceaſed, he provided others in other Countries to continue down the relations of his Providence through every Age to that in which we live; and they that have made it their buſineſs to ſearch into theſe Repoſitories of paſt events, and have by their Converſation with the better ſort of men been able alſo to take a particular Account of their own times, are thereby qualified to paſs a far more certain judgment, and ought as far as they appear honeſt and diſintereſſed, to be truſted by the unlearned, and for that End God hath raiſed them up, and given them thoſe means of Knowledge, and at their hands he will require the blood of thoſe poor harmleſs Sheep they are ſet over, if they do miſlead or not fore-warn them.

Tho I may much better be numbred amongſt the middle ſort of Men than with the Learned, and have

lived

lived ſo obſcure a Life as not to be able to make a cloſe reflection upon the perſons and things that are now upon the Stage, and ſo do not look upon my ſelf to be indiſputably obliged to become a publick Monitor, at a time when I can expect little but Reproach, if I be not known, and muſt run the hazard of Ruining my ſelf and family, if I be. Yet I cannot prevail upon my ſelf to ſit ſtill and take patiently the Lot ſhall fall to my ſhare amongſt the reſt, till I have made one publick Attempt to reſcue my dear Country-men (if it may be) out of their deluſion and danger.

But becauſe the Counſel of Strangers, and ſuch I deſire to be to my Reader, is and ought to be ſuſpected, till the Deſign of the giver is known. I will tell my Reader what, though not who I am: I was bred a Diſſenter from the Religion now Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, a great admirer of Parliaments, and taught betimes to fear Monarchy and Arbitrary Government: and as for Popery, I have ſo great an averſion for it, that I never willingly converſed with one of that Religion, and, if God permits me to chooſe my Company never will. But I muſt confeſs, I have ſeen great reaſon to alter in part from what I was; for I have heartily embraced the Religion Eſtabliſhed, not out of any worldly Conſideration, but purely for its goodneſs. I prefer our Monarchy too before all the Governments that now are, or ever have been extant in the World; ſo far as I can know them. And I think Parliaments well Choſen and Acting prudently, are one of the beſt human Conſtitutions that ever the Sun ſhed his beams upon. In fine, if God would give me liberty to chooſe the utmoſt that I would wiſh; it ſhould be to leave things to my Poſterity as they were ſetled upon his Majeſties Return: and greater happineſs than this can never betide this Nation, as time will ſhew. So that if my Reader finds any thing in theſe Papers that

doth not agree with this, he is desired to look upon it as an Error, and to reject and abhor it rather than approve of it.

That the People of *England* are at this day in as great a ferment as ever any People were in, that were not actually ingaged in an Inteſtine War, is a truth ſo apparent, that I think I may boldly ſpeak it. That this ſtate of things is uneaſie, uncomfortable, unſafe, I believe will not be denyed by any but thoſe who hope for more advantage from it, than I do expect from the beſt ſtate of things in this World that can happen, and thoſe I have nothing to ſay to. For the welfare of the reſt I will enquire into the Cauſes of theſe Diſtempers, and this will lead them and me to the cure better than any projects without it.

I ſay the firſt and great Cauſe of them (next our ſins againſt God) is the diverſity of Religions now profeſſed in *England*, from whence proceeds ſidings and part-making and taking, ill-will, hatred, contention, diſlike of what is preſent, jealouſie of what may come, one party hoping to riſe, another fearing it may be ſo, and pulling it down or endeavouring to keep it under: and this is common to all.

A ſecond Cauſe is our late Recovery out of a ſtate of things quite contrary to what we now are in, and ſo our preſent diſtemper may truly enough be ſaid to be but the reliques of our former Malady; which have not had that due purgation they ought to have had, and have been working in the Nation theſe twenty years, tho in great part ſuppreſt by his Majeſties Prudence, and the Loyalty of his firſt and ſecond Parliament.

A third Cauſe is the Luxury and Prodigality of the preſent Age, which have brought many men into want who can ill endure it, and therefore hope to mend their Fortunes by the Ruin of their opulent Neighbours, and this

this is ſo obvious, I wonder 'tis no more taken notice of. This alone brought on the Civil Wars of *Rome*, which turn'd that State topſey turvey and went near to bring it to a final Ruin.

As for the *Popiſh Plot*, the uncertainty of his *R. H.* his Religion, the want of Lawful Iſſue to inherit after his Majeſty, and the like; I look upon them as things that occaſion rather than cauſe our ſickneſs, and as ſuch I will conſider them in due time.

The firſt of theſe cauſes, the diverſity of Religions is ſo apparent, That Foreiners are well acquainted with it, and, wiſe men ſay, make uſe of it to ſerve their ends upon us, nay ſome ſay by Arts, Penſions, Emiſſaries, and ſuch like means accend and increaſe them. But before we can conſider of a Remedy, we muſt conſider the Cauſe, and whence it proceeds, and whither it tends, and what will be the Event. And alſo what number of contending parties there is, or diviſions.

The Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed is the ſame for ſubſtance that was ſettled in the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth, by the Univerſal Conſent of this Nation, both in Synods and Parliaments, and which being ſuſpended during the Reign of Queen *Mary*, was re-eſtabliſh'd by Q. *Elizabeth*, under whom and her Succeſſors it became ſo radicated in the Hearts of the *Engliſh* Nation, that after twenty years endeavour to ruin it *Root* and *Branch*, by Fire and Sword, it revived upon his Majeſties Reſtauration and was Reſetled again with more Honour and Zeal than ever, though its Enemies had done their utmoſt to oblige the whole Nation to Abjure it in the *Solemn League and Covenant*: which as they are Arguments of the goodneſs of it, and of God's particular Care for its preſervation, ſo are they undeniable Proofs that it is backed by a ſtrong Party of reſolute, wiſe and ſober men, and in it ſelf agreeable to the temper and humour of the *Engliſh* People,

as

as far as it is fit Religion ſhould be ſo, which is to rule and govern us, and not to be ruled by us only.

All that I ſhall infer from hence is, That whoever he be that Attempts the Ruin of it, muſt Act contrary firſt to the known Laws of the Land, to which every man hath given his Conſent by his Repreſentatives in Parliament, and under the profeſſion of which he or his Anceſtors may have received the greateſt Bleſſings this World affords. Secondly, That it never can be eradicated but by Blood and Violence, nor by them neither in likelihood without the total ruin not only of the Government, but Nation and People that profeſs it. Which are things of that Nature, as every *Engliſh* man ought to think of with the ſeriouſneſs of a dying man, how much ſoever he may diſlike this Religion: if he doth not, it will be his Sin, and bid fair for his Ruin here and hereafter. And as to the Friends of it, I ſhall ſay but this, Be Conſtant and of a good Courage, and let not the badneſs of your Lives ſlander that Excellent Church whoſe Children you are, or profeſs to be, and the Lord himſelf will fight for you as he hath hitherto done, to the Amazement of your Enemies, if they would Conſider it.

The next contending party are the *Papiſts*, which are firſt, nothing in proportion to the *Proteſtants*. Secondly, Univerſally ſuſpected, and hated by all that differ from them with ſuch a natural Averſion, That the Quarrel is become National, and never to be extinguiſhed in one Age, if it can ever be effected, which I much doubt. Thirdly, Nor is this without Reaſon, it being a Religion deſtructive of the Intereſt, Honour, Sovereignty, and Wealth of the *Engliſh* Nation, who therefore finally forſook it, as well as for the Badneſs and Imperiouſneſs, the Covetouſneſs and Tyranny, the Falſhood and Treachery of it and the Diſciples of it: And further I am not at preſent concerned with it.

And

And to them that profeſs it, their Intereſt is to be as quiet as they can, and never to Attempt that which can never be effected, but by the Ruin of their Country, and their own too, and if nothing elſe will do, it is better to forſake than deſtroy their Native Land; and to this the Generoſity of ſome Heathens have arrived: and if I were of that Religion, I ſhould be aſhamed to be outdone by them. But I do not expect what I ſhall ſay will have any weight with them, and therefore I will ſay the leſs.

As to them of the Church of *England*, I would adviſe them to conſult their own Intereſt ſo far, as to have nothing to do with their *Popiſh* Neighbours, nor any Converſation with them, which if it were duly obſerved might be a better means to reduce them in time, than all the Laws that were ever yet made againſt them, and would however give the common people who cannot diſtinguiſh betwixt kindneſs to the Men and to their Religion, great ſatisfaction, and prevent ſome of the grounds of thoſe Reproaches that are oftentimes falſely enough caſt at them by the Diſſenters, who watch this familiarity, and thereby blaſt the Reputation of good Men with the Multitude, and too often feign it is where it is not. But this Counſel is particularly fit for Women, to prevent perverting; for Clergymen, Gentlemen and Magiſtrates to preſerve their Integrity and Reputation with the People: Tradeſmen, Tenants, and the like, may do it, as far as the Neceſſity of their Callings require, and no further if they be wiſe: but then this is intended only for my private Opinion, and I will not Condemn thoſe who take it not, nor can I excuſe thoſe People whoſe prejudices have made this Advice ſeem neceſſary, for many have hated *Popery* the more for Converſing with *Papiſts*.

Secondly,

Secondly, I humbly conceive it is neceſſary that the Laws againſt the Recuſants ſhould be conſtantly and equally put in execution: and I think King *James* committed a great Error in Politicks (though it was an Act of great goodneſs) when he ſtopped the Execution of all Laws againſt them upon his coming to the Crown of *England*, hoping to win them by gentle means, the contrary of which he had like to have found in the Gunpowder-Plot, to his Coſt. And it will ever be looked upon with Jealouſie by the common People, to ſee the Diſſenters puniſhed and the Papiſts ſpared, and therefore the policy of ballancing thoſe two Factions, is juſt curing a Lethargy by a Feaver, whereas perfect health is only to be found in the abſence of both. And I could wiſh we had ſome gentler Law than that of twenty pound a Month, ſo made, that it might not be in the power of any man to ſtop it, the penalty being aſſigned to the repairing of Bridges, or ſome other ſuch like Charitable Uſe, and to be levied and diſpoſed of in the Country where their Lands lye, and a Treaſurer for that purpoſe appointed.

The beſt Advice I can give the Diſſenters in this Caſe is, That they would put an End to their old Legerdemain of calling all thoſe perſons Papiſts that are not of their Religions, becauſe it gives the Papiſts great Advantages by making their Party ſeem much greater than it is, and conſequently confirms them in their way to all our damages. 2. It tends to introduce jealouſies and diſtruſts amongſt the common People, which may occaſion another War, as it did the laſt; and which is the only way that Popery ever can be ſetled again in *England*, and ſo is impolitick and fooliſh as well as falſe, but becauſe this is the only end for which they do it, I muſt expect no attention from them: but thoſe men that have not that deſign are they for whom it is intended.

And

And now I will in the third place consider the Dissenters themselves, which though they are expressed by one word, yet if they be asked, What their proper Name is? they must Answer with the Demonaick in the Gospel, **Legion**, because we are many: and which is more, have mortal feuds amongst themselves, and can no more agree one with another than with the Church of *England*, or the Recusants, if they should once attain what they unite for, the Ruin of the Religion and Government Established; and yet I must add more to them, *First*, A considerable part of those that may be found within the Walls of our Churches, who have Conformed to prevent the Penalties of the Law; though they hate the Religion they profess, or prefer that they do not. *Secondly*, All those good men who take the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*, to qualifie them for Places of Trust and Preferment, which when they have once gained, they imploy them to the Ruin of that Church. *Thirdly*, All those that are discontented or ambitious, and hope to rise by opposition to the present Government; or at least to be revenged on them that stand in their way. *Fourthly*, All the Semi-conforming Clergy, who to keep their Livings, have comply'd with the Religion Establish'd, tho in their hearts they hate it, and by their actions endeavour to Ruine it as far as they durst. All which are just such friends to the Church of *England*, as *Joab* was to *Abner* when he took him friendly by the Beard and kissed him. And to these I will add another sort who have been deluded by the zealous pretences of these men for the preserving the Protestant Religion, and extirpating Popery, many of which are of their Party by Accident, and hate them as heartily as any that oppose them most of all, and yet through Ignorance and Incogitancy, promote their designs. If the unfolding all these parties

take ſome time, I muſt beſpeak the Reader's patience, for here our greateſt danger lies, and as we ſucceed or fail, here the Event will follow.

My Reader muſt not expect from me here an Hiſtorical Account of the Origine, Differences, or Diviſions that are among theſe Diſſenters, much leſs a Confutation of their Tenets; that is no part of my buſineſs. I conſider them as a State-Faction, and with reference to the Peace and Government of *England*, and if I can demonſtrate that their Uniting, as they have ever ſince *Sixty*, to embroyl us in another War; will certainly at one time or other have ill effects, though it is likely quite contrary to what they intend: I ſhall then conclude that all men that love themſelves will be ſo wiſe as to oppoſe them, and even that thoſe amongſt them who truly Fear God and Love their Country, will deſiſt from driving on the Deſigns of the Ambitious, and Bloody Party any further, and not pretend the ſecond time, That they did not think ſuch godly men had cheriſhed ſuch ungodly thoughts; as they ſaid when they ſaw his Majeſties Father Murdered by them before.

Among theſe Diſſenters two parties are to be more eſpecially conſidered, the *Preſbyterians* and the *Independents*, all the reſt are not worth our taking any notice of, but as they joyn with theſe and ſo make up the number.

Preſbytery was hatched in Rebellion and a popular State and fitted for it, and the whole Scheme of it is adapted to thoſe Ends, and is totally inconſiſtent with Monarchy, and the Freedoms and Liberties of any People that are the Friends but will not be the Slaves of their Clergy: and accordingly where ever this Religion hath ſet its foot into the Territories of any Monarch, Rebellion hath ever followed, as Dr. *Heylin* hath proved at large; and this is not ſo much the deſtiny of *Preſbytery*, as a neceſſary effect of its ill principles, which

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are the ſame with thoſe of *Popery*, only the one ends in an Eccleſiaſtical Monarchy, of which the Pope as Chriſt's Vicar here on Earth and Succeſſor to S. *Peter*, is the Head. And the other in a Conſiſtory or Synod, made up of a mixture of Clergy-men and Lay-Elders. But they are both accountable to none but God, free from all Subjection to Princes in matters of Religion, and which is yet worſe, pretend a Charter from Heaven to compel the Kings of the Earth to become the Executioners of their Decrees whether they like them or not, upon pain of Excommunication and Depoſition. And both of them have ſet the People above their Princes, and pretend, That the Powers that are, are not Ordained of God, but introduced by force or ſubtilty, or the conſent and pacts of their people, and accordingly are accountable and puniſhable upon Mal-Adminiſtration; of which the Pope on the one hand, and the Conſiſtory or Synod on the other are the Judges. And the conſequences of theſe things are not difficult to foreſee or at leaſt will quickly be found by experience, and then, though Popery aroſe by degrees in a dark and diſtracted Age, and ſo was received; it is no wonder if this young upſtart which ſprang up ſo lately in the Vallies of *Geneva*, meets with leſs welcom from Crowned Heads, and the *Scotch* man was not much out when he ſaid all Kings were *infenſiſſimi Evangelii hoſtes*, the irreconcileable Enemies of the Goſpel, by which laſt term he only meant the *Preſbyterian Diſcipline:* and ſuch they muſt continue as long as they mean to be Maſters of their Power, and free from the Cenſures of their own Subjects.

But *Preſbytery* is not only troubleſome to Princes, but to Subjects too, if they value their own Liberty; for when this Scepter is once received as by *Divine Right*, it proves a Rod of Iron. For every little Vicar with

the assistance of a Grave *shoe-maker*, and a Reverend *Taylor* or *Weaver*, that can neither write nor read, it may be; but to be sure, that are unacquainted with the *Language of the Beast*, shall then convent before them the best Gentleman or Gentlewoman, Knight, Lord or Lady that lives in the Parish, and with much Authority and little Law or Civility, proceed against them for Dancing, suing a more godly Brother, or any such like unchristian wickedness, and this being duely considered by the *long Parliament Gentlemen*, tho they had sworn to do the feat, when they had need of the *Scots*, yet they desire to be excused, when the *Assembly of Divines* press'd them to settle it as of *Divine Institition*, and clapt so many restrictions and qualifications on their *darling Discipline*, as they were never able to digest, by which means it miscarried then, and I believe it is never likely again to come so near a settlement as it was then.

So that I may safely assure any man it is morally impossible now, ever to settle *Presbytery* in *England*; which must pull down the Monarchy and the Church of *England* in the first place, and then Conquer all the other Factions that were too strong for it before, and *Popery* too, before ever it can hope to be setled as I said here. And when these great things are to be brought about, or by which ways, I am not concern'd to enquire.

Independency sprung out of the former as a luxuriant sucker from the root of a Tree, and giving more liberty both to Princes and private men, who were at their choice, whether they would list themselves in their Congregations or no; and not pretending to rival the Parliament or the General by a National Platform: every holder forth desiring only to head his own Congregation, and to order all things by the Vote of the major part of the Assembly; soon over-topped good Sir *John Presbyter*, brought him under, and treated him and

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his Aſſiſtants in the ſame manner as they two in conjunction had treated the Biſhops and the Loyal Party, then call'd *Maligants* before. And ſo advancing the Banner of a general Toleration to all the Hereſies and Schiſms that could poſſibly be introduced or invented, and puniſhing no ſort of men whatſoever, but Church of *England* men and *Papiſts:* and under this all the reſt had their full ſwinge, till Foreigners took notice, there was above 140 ſeveral Factions, and Hereſies, beſides a ſtanding Army of 30000 men: Arbitrary Tyranny, Monyes levied without Parliaments, Princes and private men murder'd by *High Courts of Juſtice*, againſt Law and Reaſon, and finally all that Confuſion, Opreſſion and Diſorder, that a ſinful Nation had deſerved by a proſperous Rebellion. Till in ſhort the meaneſt perſons in the Nation ſaw that nothing could prevent their Ruin but the recalling of their King, and the reſetling that Religion which theſe godly Rebels had ſworn to root up. And ſo *Independency* and *Presbytery* fell both of them again under Monarchy and Epiſcopacy.

Thus ended the laſt Rebellion, in the Year 1660, to the general Joy and Satisfaction of the *Engliſh* Nation, the Authors of it, after all the Villanies and Treaſons they had been guilty of, and perpetrated in the preceeding twenty Years, having gained nothing but the deteſtation of the People, and a dreadful expectation of his Majeſties Revenge for the Blood of his Father and all his Loyal Subjects, which had been ſplit in that abominable War. But this Prince returned with other thoughts, and contradicted the Old Obſervation.

Suet. Tiber. cap. 59.

——— Regnabit ſanguine multo
Ad Regnum quiſquis venit ab exilio.

He that once Exil'd comes to Reign
With too much Blood his times will ſtain.

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This they had reaſon to fear, becauſe they had ſo much deſerved it, and this they did actually dread as much ar ever men did, but his Majeſty was in as much pain as they, till an Act of *Oblivion* and *Indemnity* was not only offer'd, but in ſome ſort preſt upon the Parliament, and paſſed to his Majeſties great Satisfaction, and their great Security. And who now could have expected but that being thus reinſtated in their Lives and Fortunes, they ſhould have been the moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects in the World, and by that have made ſome amends for their former Crimes? But tho the King had forgiven them, they could not find in their hearts to forgive either him or his Friends: as I ſhall preſently ſhew you. When in the mean time that Parliament having finiſhed the great Work they met about, and reſtored the King to his Right, the three Nations to their Peace and Ancient Liberties and Immunities, was at laſt diſſolved by his Majeſty, that another might be called by the King's Writ, in a more regular and legal manner; which was impoſſible when this met, the King being then in Exile.

In the Interim his Majeſty had reduced the Liturgy of the Church into Uſe in his own Royal Chappel, and as for the reſt of the Nation, the old Sequeſtred Clergy being only reſtored to their rightful Livings, and the Vacancies of the dignified Clergy filled up, his Majeſty left all men to their liberty of doing as they pleaſed. So that the Service of the Church was performed according to the particular will and humors of the People or Prieſt, in ſome places the whole Liturgy being uſed, and in others a part, and in others none: Yet for all that, theſe godly men could not reſt, though they had then as perfect a *Liberty of Conſcience* as could be deſired. I was then a Child, and did not make thoſe Obſervations that I have ſince, yet I remember this happen'd in the place where I then lived, There were

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two Churches in that Town, and the Church of *England* Party had one and the Diſſenters had the other by agreement, but preſently after they repenting, got the Key of the other Church on a Sunday morning, and would not have permitted the Church-Party to have had any Service at all; which might have ended ill enough, if ſome Gentlemen of good prudence had not interpoſed, and by their Authority taught theſe meek Diſſenters more Modeſty. By which you may ſee what they would have done, if the Power had ſtill been in their hands, and what we might have expected from them, and how unjuſt all their after-Clamours againſt the Biſhops and Government for ſettling Religion as it now ſtands, are: and by this little Story, the Truth of which hundreds yet living can atteſt, you may clearly ſee what would have followed, if this Liberty had been continued but a few years more.

In the interim the whole Nation was employed in making Elections to ſerve in the next Parliament, and ſo great was every bodies ſatisfaction in the proceedings of theſe Loyal Gentlemen in the former Parliament, and the Reputation of the Diſſenters at ſo low an Ebb with all the World, that however induſtrious they were to recommend their old confiding men, the Choice fell generally upon the Kings Friends, the Members of the former Parliament. And it was well for *England* that it did ſo, for the King was ſcarce well ſettled in his Throne, and the diſcontented Diſſenters having at laſt recovered out of the Amazement the Change had caſt them into, were hard at work under-hand, to rally up their ſcattered Forces, and revive their drooping Spirits; to this end, the Murderers of the Late King were recommended to the People as Martyrs, after they had ſuffered as Traytors; and not contented with the Liberty of the Churches, private Conventicles were

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kept in Houſes, and great numbers of People Aſſembled on that Account, and ſad Stories were told of the badneſs of the times, and whole Books of Propheſies and Prodigies printed to make the People more compliant with them, and averſe to their Governours.

Dr. *Spencer's* Book of Prodigies, *Preface.*

So that had this Parliament given them the leaſt encouragement, we had certainly returned into our former State of Hoſtility, and the King been brought to fight with his own Subjects for the Crown, for from that day the King quitted the old ſcores by a Pardon, they plotted to ruin him that had ſaved them. And not long after ſet afoot the obligation of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, as the likelieſt Inſtrument to effect this *Great*, this *Good End*. So impoſſible it is for theſe *Sober Proteſtants*, to be oblieged by an Act of Grace a Prince can do for them; and ſo impoſſible it is they ſhould be quiet.

In *May* 1661. the *Long Loyal Parliament* met, about which time his Majeſty ordered a Conference betwixt ſome of the Epiſcopal Divines and the Diſſenters, to Review the Liturgy, and to make ſuch alterations as ſhould be thought neceſſary, and to make ſuch additional forms alſo as were ſuitable to the ſeveral parts of Worſhip. And in the mean time deſired that they would uſe as much of the Old Book as they had no Exception a gainſt; and declared, That in Compaſſion to divers of his good Subjects, who ſcrupled the Uſe of it as then it was; none ſhould be puniſhed or troubled for not uſing it, until it was reviewed and effectually reformed. Inſtead of which the Diſſenters publiſhed a *New-Liturgy* conſiſting of 76 *Quarto* Pages, with a lamentable Petition, appealing thereby from the King and Biſhops to the People. So that the King and Parliament ſeeing no good was to be done with them, made an Act for Uniformity to commence from S. *Bartholomew*, 1662. and publiſhed the Liturgy as it now ſtands

ſtands. Upon which they began a formal Schiſm, ſet up Teacher againſt Teacher, Congregation againſt Congregation; and by all the Arts imaginable, endeavoured to lay the foundations of another War. And herein the Diſſenters joyned with the Papiſts in the Houſe of Lords, and mutually attempted to hinder the Settlement.

But becauſe all theſe little Arts were likely to be of ſmall force without hands to back them, they began to ſollicit the Soldiery which was then a foot, many of which began to apprehend the Trade was then going down, and the Nation might be ſettled ſo as there might be no further uſe of them. But the Miniſters of State ſenting this Deſign betimes, put the Houſe of Commons the 21 of *November*, 1661. upon a Vote, *To deſire the Lords concurrence in a Petition to his Majeſty to iſſue out a Proclamation for diſarming the disbanded and caſhier'd Officers and Soldiers, and to Command them to depart from, and not to approach within twenty miles of this City, for ſuch time as his Majeſty ſhould think fit.* To which the Lords Aſſented, and named *Six*, as the Commons did *Twelve* of their Members to attend his Majeſty for that purpoſe: But the *Eighteenth* of *December*, the *Cold-Streamers* and other Soldiers, that ſerved under the Lord General *Monk* at his coming out of *Scotland* into *England*, deſired the Commons Opinion, *Whether in their Vote and Addreſs to his Majeſty* (before mentioned) *they were included?* To which they agreed to reply, *They were not:* and deſired the Concurrence of the Lords. But at a Conference held the next day with the Upper Houſe, the Lords replyed, *They could not concur.* 1. *His Majeſty having granted his Licence to thoſe who had been recommended by the General,* **and there being ſome who were not to be truſted.** 2. And the Lord Chancellor further declared, *That the ſame did concern things of a high*

and dangerous nature, and that there had been a Real Design which had been forming ever since March *last, to disturb the Union and Peace of the Kingdom*, and named several of the parties engaged, with the manner and contrivance of their Traiterous Design, and the progress they had from time to time made therein: and although their Designs were at present disordered, as to the effecting of them in the Town, to which End they had made a general invitation of disbanded Officers and Souldiers, and other disaffected persons to resort hither, about the *Eleventh* of this Month; yet they were still practising to put the same in Execution in the Countrey. And hereupon the Lords appointed a Committee of *Twelve* of their own House, and desired an answerable number of the Commons to be joyned with them, who might (during the recess) examine the said Trayterous Designs and report it to the House, with such Expedients as they should find necessary for preventing and suppressing thereof, and securing the Peace of the Nation in this juncture of Affairs. To which the Commons agreed, and appointed *Twenty four* of their Members to be joyned to the Committee appointed by the Lords.

And when this failed, in the Year 1662. they wrought so much upon his Majesties Compassion, as to dispose him very much to have granted them a Toleration the second time, which being perceived by the Parliament, they tendred such Reasons to the contrary, as made the Design for that time miscarry, and so all things went according to the Act of Uniformity.

The Presses in this time also were pestered (as now they are) with such numerous swarms of Libels, that his Majesties Life and Reputation, Authority and Government, were much endangered: and I remember in that time a Pamphlet was stopped at the Press, which recom-

recommended to the People the Example of *Ehud* who ſtab'd the King of *Moab*, as an Heroick attempt. To prevent which inconvenrencies, this Loyal Parliament paſſed an Act, the Preface of which being ſhort is as followeth:

WHereas the well Government and Regulating of Printers and Printing-Preſſes is matter of publick Care, and of great Concernment, eſpecially conſidering, that by the general Licentiouſneſs of the late times, many evil diſpoſed perſons have been encouraged to Print and Sell Heretical, Schiſmatical, Blaſphemous, Seditious and Treaſonable Books, Pamphlets and Papers; And ſtill do continue ſuch their Unlawful and Exorbitant Practices (mark theſe words) *to the high Diſhonour of Almighty Gad, the endangering the Peace of the Kingdom, and raiſing a diſaffection to his Moſt Excellent Majeſty and his Government.*

For prevention whereof, no ſurer means can be deviſed, than by reducing and limiting the number of Printing-Preſſes, and by Ordering and Settling the ſaid Art or Myſtery of Printing by Act of Parliament: which Act being ſince Expired, all theſe inconveniencies are returned upon the Nation with ſo much the more Violence as the Reſtraint hath inraged the Diſtemper; many of the worſt Books that were Printed in the late Rebellion, being Reprinted as New Books. And to all the Malice of the preſent Time, all that of the intermediate betwixt the Making and Expiring of the ſaid Act being added; and now at once ſent out to infect the Nation.

Whether this be a good way for Diſſenters to expreſs their pretended Love and Loyalty to his Majeſty, and whether the Countenancing this can be intended for any other End but the begetting another Rebellion, let the Reader judge?

The number of Diſſenting Teachers, who were either deprived of their ill-gotten Livings, to reſtore the Rightfull Owners who were then living; or had deprived themſelves by refuſing to Subſcribe or take Epiſcopal Orders, was great without doubt: and theſe almoſt all of them forthwith took up the Trade of Conventickling, ſo that the Nation in general, but eſpecially *London* and the great Towns became rarely well ſtocked with that ſort of *Out-Lyers*, who under pretence of *Tender Conſciences*, did at their Meetings contrive Inſurrections as late Experience hath ſhewed, as the Words of the Statute are. To prevent which growing and dangerous practices of Seditious Sectaries, and other Diſloyal Perſons, an Act paſſed in the 16*th.* Year of his Majeſties Reign, for the puniſhing of thoſe Diſorders.

Cap. 4.

And it was high time this Care ſhould be taken, for the next Year, 1665. the Lord Chancellor gave an Account by Letter to the Juſtices of the Peace, of a Plot that was then diſcovered, the Words of which Letter are as followeth.

His Majeſty being well aſſured the Confeſſion of ſome deſperate perſons lately apprehended, and by other Credible Informations, That notwithſtanding all his Majeſties unparallel'd Lenity and Mercy towards his Subjects for their paſt Offences how great ſoever, there are ſtill amongſt them many Seditious perſons, who inſtead if being ſorry for the ill they have done, are ſtill contriving by all the means they can, to involve the Kingdom in a New Civil War, and in order thereunto have made Choice of a ſmall Number, who under the Title of a Council hold Correſpondence with the Forein Enemies to this Kingdom, and diſtribute their Orders to ſome ſignal men of their Party in the ſeveral Counties, who have provided Arms, and Liſted men to be ready upon any ſhort warning to draw together into

into a Body, by which with the help which they promiſe themſelves from abroad, they preſume to be able to do much Miſcheif. And after gives Directions how this ſhould be prevented, amongſt which one was; *To free the Country from Seditious and Unlawful Meetings and Conventicles.*

The End of which Meetings is (as the Letter goes on) *as appears by ſeveral Examinations and Confeſſions, to confirm each other in their Malice againſt the Government, and in making Collections for the ſupport of thoſe of their Party, who are Liſted to appear in any deſperate undertaking, the very time where of they have deſigned,* &c. This Letter bears date the *Thirtieth* of *March*, 1665. By which you may at once ſee how reſtleſs theſe *Brumingham* Proteſtants were then to have involved the Nation in a War again, and what uſe they made of the Conventicle-Meetings and what the People were there Taught; yet was it not now *Five* Years ſince his Majeſties Return, and moſt Gracious Pardon.

But this Contrivance failing of its expected Event, they plyed their buſineſs diligently in all Corporations that ſend Burgeſſes to Parliament, in which places they diſtilled the poyſonous Principles of Schiſm and Rebellion, into the hearts of his Majeſties Subjects, to the great danger of the Church and Kingdom: As the Preface of the Act made againſt this, expreſſeth it. And there the main deſign was, That as the members of that Parliament ſhould die, they might by the help of theſe Seduced Inhabitants and Free-men, get men Choſen into their places of other Principles, and how they have ſucceeded in this I need ſay nothing. And at the ſame time they induſtriouſly wrought on the Yeomanry and inferior Freeholders of the Counties, blaſting the Reputation of the Loyal Gentry as Men of Arbitrary Principles, and crying up thoſe of their own Party as moderate men, the effects of which were very conſpicuous afterwards tho not much regarded then. 17 *Car.* 2. *c.* 2.

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Before I dismiss this Statute I must therein take notice of the Oath they are thereby required to make, which is this:

I A. B. do Swear, That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King: And that I do abhor that Trayterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissioned by him, in pursuance of such Commissions, And that I will not any time endeavour any Alteration of Government, either in Church or State.

Now though this is so easie and reasonable that a man can scarce conceive any Subject of *England* should refuse it, yet I never knew any of this sort of men give the King so much Assurance of their Loyalty as the taking it; which is as plain a Declaration of their Intentions as any man could wish. For he that will not Swear the Unlawfulnes of taking Arms against his King, when he is required by Law so to do, doth thereby plainly declare he thinks it Lawful, and then he will never fear to think it Expedient, when he conceives it Safe. He that huggs that Trayterous Position there mentioned, in his bosom, is Loyal because he dares be no otherwise, and ought no more to be endured in any place than a declared Enemy. And what can any Government expect from him that denies that Negative Assurance of *Not endeavouring an Alteration of it?* had these men had no other Designs but that of serving God according to their Consciences, and living quietly under the Government, though they could not comply with it, they would have rejoyced at an Opportunity of this Nature, to express their Innocency. But the refusing it is a plain declaration

tion that neither the Peace of the King or Kingdom, nor the Government in Church or State ſhall continue longer than, till they have got force enough to deſtroy or alter them. And ſhall any man need a greater demonſtration of their Reſolutions to Rebell again when time ſhall ſerve?

In 65. and 66. God viſited the ſins of this Nation with a dreadful Plague, wherein *London* ſmarted moſt of all, and in *September* 66. God permitted a deſtroying Fire to follow it, which laid a conſiderable part of that populous City in Aſhes; the diſſenting Miniſters (as Mr. *Baxter* acquaints us in his *Laſt Apology*) took the opportunity of theſe two *Signal Judgments*, and the Conſternation the People were then in, to puſh their Deſigns forward, which they might do with the greater ſafety, becauſe of the Confuſion that attended theſe two Calamities, and he ſaith that from that time forward, the People became more addicted to them than before. So that Scourge, which, as far as man can or may judge, was ſent upon them for the Sins of the former Rebellion, was made by them a means of diſpſiong them to commit the ſame Sins over again, when time and opportunity ſhould ſerve. But in the interim things went ſmoother after this; the People attending to re-build what the Fire had waſted, and to enjoy the Fruits of the Peace made with the *Dutch* after a ſharp War.

And now if any man will but reflect upon what I have ſaid, and add to it what he may poſſibly remember of the Times I have thus ſhortly repreſented; He will eaſily ſee that from the Time his Majeſty ſet his Foot upon the *Engliſh* ſhores at his Return; they fell to work to contrive his Ruin, and that nothing hath hitherto prevented it but the Loyalty of the two firſt Parliaments, and the unwillingneſs of the People to ingulph themſelves preſently in thoſe Calamities they had ſo lately eſcaped out

of;

of; nor hath his Majesty failed on his part to improve these two great advantages, to the settling of the Government both in Church and State, and to the repairing those devastations which the War, Plague and Fire had made.

I intend not a History of all their Proceedings, for which I am no ways qualified, having lived all my Life a private man in the Countrey, and conversed more with Ancient than Modern Books, but a Discourse for the benefit of them who have not reflected so much on these things as they might and ought to have done; and therefore I shall be shorter in my Accounts of the following times, and the first thing I will take notice of is his Majesties Declaration for Liberty of Conscience or a Toleration, which bears date the *Fifteenth* of *March*, 167½.

The *Pacquit of Advice* to the men of *Shaftsbury*, pag. 19.

This Declaration was promoted chiefly by the Lord *Clifford* who was a *Roman Catholick*, and presently closed with by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and as greedily embraced by the Dissenters in general as any thing could be, and hath since appeared to be as subservient to their Interest; yet *Coleman*'s Letters, and many of the Informers in the late *Plot*, having opened their Eyes a little, now all the blame is thrown upon the *Papists*, and the World made believe as far as men can be perswaded out of their Senses, That as the whole Contrivance was *Popish*, so the Dissenters soon found it was so, and therefore the *Presbyterians* especially presently suspected the kindness, and like wise men closed with the Conformists; and refused the bait however specious it seemed, when they saw the hook that lay under it, as one of that Party tells us, which Dr. *Stillingfleet* Confutes by quoting passages out of their own Books Printed in that time, and saith. *That he was so far from believing that they then closed with the Conformists, that he dated the* Presbyterian

Preface to the *unreasonableness of Separation*, pag. 22, 23, 24.

Separation

Separation chiefly from that time. For did they not take out Indulgences (as he goes on) *build Meeting-Places, and keep up Separate Congregations ever ſince? and a little after the Ejected Miniſters then reſorted to Cities and Corporations, not to ſupply the neceſſities of thoſe who wanted them, but to gather Churches amongſt them. Ten Non-conforming Miniſters reſorting to one City where there was not above Thirty or Forty Perſons, who refuſed to come to Church.*

This Declaration was ſo ſtoutly oppoſed by the Parliament which met the *Fourth* day of *February* following, that at laſt his Majeſty tho very unwilling, yielded to cancel it; but notwithſtanding there was ſcarce any Execution of the Laws againſt them, till in *January* or *February* 167⅓. his Majeſty Commanded the Laws ſhould proceed againſt them, ſo that for *Four* whole Years they had no conſiderable Trouble given them, nor indeed have the Laws been generally at any time ſince Executed againſt them. Now what uſe have they made of this Favour? *Firſt*, They have endeavour'd to perſuade the World, That his Majeſty was drawn on to this by *Popiſh* Counſels, who deſigned thereby the Ruin of the Proteſtant Religion: without ever taking notice of his Majeſties natural Inclination to Pity and Compaſſion. And that one of the Chief Promoters of it the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, neither now is nor ever was reputed a Papiſt, but a great Friend and Favourer of the Diſſenters. *Secondly*, They made it their buſineſs by Perjuries, ſplitting of Free-holds into Atoms for a ſmall time, purchaſing Votes, Threats and Promiſes, to draw in as many as was poſſible to give their Votes for ſuch men as they ſhould recommend to them for Parliament Men. And I need not tell you what ſort of Men they are, but by this means they have made Parliaments almoſt totally impracticable, and at laſt made

that Long-Loyal Parliament to Act so much unlike it self, *That his Majesty who* (to use the Earl of *Shaftsbury*'s Language in his Speech at the opening of the Session of Parliament, the *Fourth* day of *February*, 7⅘.) *for many Years Lived with it, with all the Caresses of a happy Marriage, was yet at length forced to give her a Bill of Divorce after She had lost that Loyalty and Affection and Dutiful Behaviour which She had before shewed towards him*; By the procurement of those Dissenters, and those they had shufled in upon the several Deaths that happen'd during the many years that Parliament was kept a foot.

Thirdly, By the means of this Toleration they drew off so many who before Complyed with the Religion Established, that they have ever since had the confidence to boast of their numbers as equal at least, to the Conformists. And though this is certainly false: yet by the means of it their numbers are really bigger than otherwise they would be, for many men observing how strangely they had recovered themselves out of that low Condition they were in when his Majesty first returned, and easily conjecturing from thence that possibly they may be in a short time able to try their strength with the King in the Field, have joyned with them as far as they might without the danger of Law, to bespeak their favour in the next Rebellion, who yet keep their Churches in the mean time, and are as hot in their discourses against the Dissenters (if none of them be present) as any body else need to be. So in the Choice of Parliament men, in Juries and all other occasions where there is no danger of penalties, they are for the Dissenters, and in all the rest they are for the Church of *England*, and in these Hypocrites or Knavish Politicians, their chief strength doth consist, many of which as they had never been gained over to them without the Toleration, so if ever their Affairs sink, they will shew them

them they are of his mind who ſaid he would become part of the prey of the Conqueror: and it will be ten to one if at laſt thoſe Criples be not really hamſtring'd and made to halt in good earneſt, but however the miſeries of another Civil War, if it happens, will revenge the Folly of them that thus promote it. And God grant theſe men may have a double portion of it, if it muſt be. But beſides theſe little Polititians, there is another ſort who tho they have conformed ſome in part, as far as once a month, or the Sermon, with now and then a ſnip of the Book of *Common-Prayer* with it, inſtead of Muſtard and Vinegar, which you know a man would be loth to be always ty'd to. And others by degrees not finding the State of their bodies much damnified by Conformity, and the bodies of their Eſtates better ſecured for the preſent at leaſt, have more intirely ſubmitted, yet neither of theſe out of any ſincere Love to the Religion Eſtabliſh'd, but as Mr. *Baxter* tells us, *'Tis a forced Conformity or Hypocriſie, which doth but paint our Churches with the Ornament of mens Companies, and that as it profiteth not their Souls* (no be ſure of it as long as there is one threat in all the Goſpel againſt Hypocrites) *So* (as he learnedly goes on) *they are only Inſtruments to undermine us, for forced unwilling Conformiſts will turn againſt us, as ſoon as they have opportunity.* You ſee what is to be expected from ſuch men, and he gives a good reaſon for it, which is, *That if we impriſon men in our Churches they will be ſtill ſeeking to get out. Where not almoſt all the* Weſtminſter *Aſſembly Epiſcopal Conformable men* (he means before the War began, and whilſt it was not ſafe to be otherwiſe, that is unwilling forced Conformiſts, which is Hypocrites in his Opinion) *when they came thither? And did not almoſt all the People of the Land Conform before the Wars? and yet* (as he tells us truly) *they did us never the more Service, nor the leſs diſpleaſure.* And

Apol. for the Non-Con. p. 90.

where is the wonder of all this that they that are falſe to God and their own Souls ſhould be falſe to their Prince, and to their Neighbours? But I would entreat Mr. *Baxter* to try his Memory once more, and it may poſſibly inform him that though the *Presbyterians* hand-faſted theſe Gentlemen by the *Solemn League and Covenant*, yet that would not hold them neither, but ſome of them proved as falſe to the *Covenanters* as they were before to the *Conformiſts*, and that even of the Aſſembly-men: Are not theſe a worthy ſort of People to truſt to? and yet if theſe were taken out of the Poll-Books of the *Nonconformiſts*, the remaining numbers would be much leſs than the *Hearty Conformiſts*. And let him further conſider that which fixed theſe to them in the late Wars, was the Succeſs that attended the *Rebellion*, and that if in another, things ſhould not go after the ſame manner, as no man can ſay they will, theſe *Hypocritical Conforming-Non-Conformiſts* will certainly leave their more ſincere Brethren, (who now truſt in their Numbers) in the Lurch, and I need not tell Mr. *Baxter* what the Conſequence of that may be; for he remembers very well, how Mr. *Love* fared when theſe Gentlemen betrayed him into the hands of the *more godly Independents*. To conclude, as theſe People run the hazard of being ruin'd which ſide ſoever prevail, ſo I think neither ſide ought to eſteem them theirs, but leave them like Brutes to fall to the Conquerors ſhare, and treat them accordingly: And that they may not be totally ignorant of what they may expect from their dear Brethren, I deſire they would caſt their Eyes in time upon the Declaration of the *Thirtieth* of *January*, 1643. Where they will find this ſharp Admonition. *We give now publick Warning to all* Neuters (*i. e.* ſuch Hypocrites as we are talking of) *to reſt no longer upon their* Neutrality, *but that they addreſs themſelves ſpeedily to take the Covenant, and joyn with all their power in the Defence*

Defence of this Cause against the Common Enemy, &c. *Otherwise we do declare them to be publick Enemies to their Religion and Countrey; and that they are to be Censur'd and Puniſh'd as Profeſſed Adverſaries and Malignants*, That is, Be at your Choice whether you will be damn'd in the next World for reſiſters of Lawful Authority: or be hanged in this for Traytors, if the King, or Malignants, if the Parliament prevail.

But leaving theſe *Neuters* to take their Fortunes, I come to another ſort of Auxiliaries, who have Liſted themſelves in the Diſſenters Service, ſome out of Ambitious Deſigns in hope to be taken off by Preferment; and others out of Diſcontent and Revenge for ſome ſuppoſed Injuries they have received from the Government. As to the firſt of theſe, That there are ſome ſuch at work amongſt us, the Author of the *Seaſonable Addreſs* informs us; and in part hath told the World who they are, but that is no part of my Buſineſs: and firſt, as to theſe Gentlemen, they ſhould do well to conſider their Predeceſſors in the ſame employment, and although they may find ſome few to have mounted to Preferment by theſe Steps, yet they are fewer that have ſtood long, and ſcarce any which have not finally been ruin'd either by the Court where theſe Intruders are never welcome, or by the Countrey, who eſteem themſelves betrayed by them. And I might add, That Preferment comes neither from the *Eaſt* nor from the *Weſt*, nor yet from the *South*, but it is God who ſets up one and pulls down another, and moſtly theſe proud men are thoſe he plucks down: But they have of late got an excellent faculty of Ridiculing the Scriptures, and I am not willing to give them too much occaſion to make uſe of it. And as for any Advices that I can give them, I muſt expect they will be taken for Injuries, or opportunities to expoſe my Ruſtick Honeſty.

There-

Therefore leaving them, I would adviſe my dear Countrey-men to obſerve this ſort of men as the worſt peſts that a People can be plagued by, for they have neither Religion, Conſcience, nor Honeſty. If they riſe they are the worſt Maſters that can be, if they do not, they are the worſt Companions; they Careſs and Flatter the People for their own Advantage, and if their Deſigns miſcarry, leave the poor deluded Vulgar to ſmart, and if a War follows, theſe little Folks get the blows, and their Leaders the Prey. And if the Government prevail, they are both as they were, and the People have all the diſquiet for the Reward of their Folly. So that you may ſee nothing is to be got which way ſoever things fall out by theſe ſort of men, and much may be loſt: And if I were in an humour to tell *Stories*, I could ſhew that all the People in the World that have been free and are not, have been ruin'd by theſe ſorts of men, except thoſe that have been Conquer'd by Foreiners. But if any man looks back to the beginning of our late diſtractions, he will need no further Information of what is to be expected from them.

As to the diſcontented, Sirs, I think them the ſillieſt Animals in the World. If the Government hath injur'd me, I ought to take it as the injuries of the weather, and not rage and fret at it, but here the caſe is worſe, the Elements will take their Courſe notwithſtanding (and God be thanked) no man can diſorder them, though he may himſelf. But Kingdoms and Nations have often been ruin'd by ſuch fools, who have ever pay'd dear for their ſweet Revenge, and been buried in the Ruins they plucked down about their own Ears, and I believe a wiſe man would rather be a Dwarf than have *Sampſon*'s ſtrength, with his fate to attend it: and be buried not like him with his Enemies, but in a promiſcuous heap with his Friends and Foes, his Honour and Eſtate.

But

But in the mean time they that ſet theſe men up, and that for this Cauſe only; are ſomewhat more to blame, for theſe Malecontents are under the Dominion of the ſtrongeſt paſſion to which depraved Nature is ſubject, and ſo are not Maſters of their own Reaſon, which is for the moſt part none of the caſe of them who furniſh them with Fire-brands and Granado's, without which theſe Gentlemen might poſſibly after a little ſullen rage have come into their right Wits again, without hurting themſelves or any body elſe. But when they ſee their paſſions not only pitied or cheriſhed, but applauded too; 'tis Ten thouſand to one they never recover out of the diſtemper, and be ſure not till they or the publick have ſmarted for the folly of thoſe that careſs'd this Deviliſh humour in them: whereas would either of the Parties be wiſe, no ſuch miſchief could follow.

The next ſort are a parcel of ſmall *Levites* commonly called *Semi-Conformiſts*, of theſe Mr. *Baxter* gravely profeſſeth 'That it was his unhappineſs to have ſo bad 'acquaintance before the unhappy Wars (ſurely the man was born under ill Stars) 'that he knew not one Conformable Divine, to the beſt of his Remembrance (and that this is a ſhrewd good one) 'who was of a Religious 'Blameleſs Life, (Hypocriſie always excepted) 'and 'ſeemed ſeriouſly to believe, and ſeek the Life to come, 'and to prefer Heaven before Earth; who did not conform only for Mr. *Sprint*'s Argument of Neceſſity, and 'had not rather have been excuſed, and would not profeſs that they had far rather that this Conformity were 'not impoſed, and that they did (as St. *Paul*, ſubmit to 'ſome *Jewiſh* Ceremonies) meerly that they might not 'be kept from Preaching (and loſe their Livings) and 'ſo they held Conformity to be Lawful, and therefore 'with the Aſſembly, when they might be free, they choſe 'it rather. *Apol. for the Non-Con. p. 90*

And

And is this the happieſt Unity that you can attain to? truly if it be all we are to expect from the pretended Union of Proteſtants, I will not give one ſtraw for a Cart-load of it. The Clergy ſhould be the Salt of the Earth, but when they come once to play faſt and looſe with their Oaths and Subſcriptions, to Act againſt their Conſciences, that they may have the liberty of Preaching, (for theſe mortified men do not value Livings and Tythes, no, let them but Preach, and let who will take the Revenues) and after all this be thought men of unblameable Life, *&c.* When I ſee this done by them; I will not wonder if their Followers too learn to Cog and Lye, and Diſſemble and Forſwear themſelves, as occaſion ſerves, and the publick or their private Affairs require it, and this is the true ſource of all that Perjury and Falſhood which the World ſtands amazed at. And ſaves *England* the Charge of repairing to *Rome* for Diſpenſations, theſe men having Taught the People That every man hath a Pope in his Belly, as well as the Parſon; which will abſolve him from any Oath, if he can but find a Godly pretence to excuſe it: and the Example of St. *Paul*, or rather St. *Peter* will do it.

Gal. 2. 13. And to conclude this Digreſſion, I can aſſure the Nonconformiſts, That a very conſiderable part of theſe helps (ſuch as they are) have come into their Aid and Aſſiſtance ſince the Toleration, and that whether they will own it or no, if the Papiſt procured the *Toleration*, they are beholden to them for all this good Service, though I ſuppoſe on this occaſion they had much rather pay their thanks to *Little Anthony*, who it's poſſible might have a Proſpect of all this, and how much it would advance the Intereſt of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the Peace of the Nation to have all theſe wild Beaſts let looſe upon the Church and State.

In the *25th.* Year of his Majeſties Reign, in the Seſſion of Parliament begun the *Fourth* day of *February*, 7$\frac{3}{4}$. All Popiſh Recuſants were diſabled from holding any Office, Civil or Military, &c. by obliging all ſuch perſons to receive the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*, and renounce Tranſubſtantiation, and take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, which at firſt brought the DUKE of YORK into ſuſpition, he refuſing to ſubmit to the ſame, of which I ſhall ſpeak more hereafter: Now the main Deſign of this Act was for the *preventing the Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants, and quieting the minds of his Majeſties good Subjects*, but the buſineſs hath been ſo managed, that the quite contrary effects have followed, and we are pretended to be in never the leſs danger, and are certainly never the quieter, for we are told that ſome turned over their places to Proteſtants and had good Allowances out of them, and that others got Diſpenſations from *Rome*, and took the ſaid Oaths and the Sacrament; and that others were Excuſed nearer hand by Orders from the Secretaries of State.

As to the firſt it is a pitiful Cavil, for if the Places be really in Proteſtant hands, the Act hath its effect, whether they bought them of Recuſants or had them from the State, and whether they pay'd the purchaſe at once or a part of it yearly: So that this ought to diſquiet no man but they that have them. and as to the Second, there is no reaſon that his Majeſty and the Government, ſhould be accuſed becauſe the Pope pretends to give Diſpenſations to men to take any Oath, the Parliament deviſed the Remidy and the King admitted it; and if there be another inconvenience which neither he nor they can tell how to prevent, it muſt be born with, and I doubt this will prove ſo in the concluſion, if there be any truth in it. We are told that many Papiſts have

taken the ſaid Teſt and retained their Places, and have been never the leſs Papiſts for that. But they would never do us the Favour to tell us who theſe are, or to give in a Liſt of their Names, which they would certainly have done, if they had known who they had been. But on the contrary, 'tis poſſible to inſtance in ſome that did enjoy good Offices, who reſigned them rather than to take the Teſt. The Lord Treaſurer *Clifford* reſigned his place for one, here was a Place worth the keeping, and which would have pay'd the purchaſe of a Diſpenſation, and the charge of Carriage too: but yet for all that his Lordſhip parted with it and kept to his Religion, as I doubt not but many others did, who were then in good Places, tho I am not able to tell their Names. As for the third Objection, it never reached further than a few Captains and Lieutenants, and they were preſently diſcharged upon the complaint of the Parliament, and ſo one would have thought there might have been an End of it, and ſo there ſhould, if ſome men did not make a good Trade of retailing and entailing Fears and Jealouſies, not for the good of the Nation, but to ſerve ill Deſigns.

Advice to the E. of *Shafts bury*. p. 23.

But admitting all this to be true (as it certainly is not) the Diſſenters have no more kindneſs for the Communion of the Church of *England* enjoyned by this Act, as well as renouncing Tranſubſtantiation, than the Recuſants; yet all the World knows ſome of them after twenty years abſtinence from all Communion with us, have yet to qualifie themſelves for ſome places of Truſt and Authority, taken the Sacrament with all the Formality required by the Act. Now this is as contrary to their Principles as it is to the Papiſts, and this with no other intention as appears by their actions, than to put themſelves into a Capacity to ruin that Church they thus communicate with. Where have they their

diſpen-

Diſpenſations to act thus like *Judas*, who ſmarted for an uncharitable treacherous Communion? Let any man conſider this and then tell me, if they of all men have any reaſon to object this even againſt the Papiſts, much leſs againſt the Government.

But this is not the only inſtance wherein they have offended againſt that Act; many of them have kept Places mentioned in it, and yet have not taken the Sacrament or Oaths according to that Act; and ſome of them I could name if I thought it fit. Is this deſtructive of the Security intended by this Act to be given to his Majeſties Subjects and the Government, or is it not? And who gave them their Licences to contemn the Act more than the Papiſts? And why may not the Papiſts play the Hypocrites as well as the Diſſenters? If they ſay the Act was intended to exclude Papiſts and not Diſſenters, I ſay that might have been done by enjoyning the Oaths to be taken, and Tranſubſtantiation to be renounced, without taking the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the Uſage of the Church of *England* in ſome publick Church, upon ſome Lords Day commonly called *Sunday*, immediately after Divine Service and Sermon. Why in a Church rather than in a Barn? on a Lords Day rather than a Lecture-day? after Divine Service and Sermon, than a Holding-forth? and according to the Uſage of the Church of *England*, rather than of the Presbyterians or Independents? What were all thoſe words put in for nothing? No, the Care was that not only Papiſts but Proteſtants at large ſhould be excluded, that is, all the Diſſenters tag and rag; and therefore they of all men ought not to clamour as they do. But the truth is, they would make the People believe (if they could) that all that are not Diſſenters are Papiſts: and that is the thing they drive at in all their outcries againſt Popery. For were it not for this

they and the Papists could agree well enough, as they did about the Toleration, when one of them told the World, *That the Papists in their account was but one sort of Recusants, and that the Conscientious amongst them, must be held in the same Predicament with those amongst themselves, that likewise refuse to come to* Common-Prayer. What was this but joyning for a Toleration of Popery? But if this be not plain enough, these words follow'd: *but as for the Common Papist who lives innocently in his way, he is to us as other Separatists, and so comes under the like Toleration.* And a Late Author who writ against Dr. *Stillingfleet*, hath defended all this, by which any man may see they hold their minds.

Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Preface to the *Unreasonableness of Schism.* p. 25.

From this time till the Discovery of the *Plot*, the Papists and the Dissenters equally promoted the dissolution of the *Long Loyal Porliament*, what was done by the Papists appears by *Coleman's* Letters, and what was done by the Dissenters, by the *Pacquet of Advices to the Men of* Shaftsbury, who *pag.* 4. tells us of some body whose Nickname was *Mephistophiles*, who (besides many others therein mentioned) had one Expedient more upon the Anvile; and that is to use all manner of tricks that may be, by *Long Speeches*, and *Long Debates* among the Lords, and the *Starting* of *Controversies* about Privilege, betwixt their Lordships and the Commons, to *Frustrate* Dispatches of the King and Kingdoms business; and so necessitate the present Parliament to become unserviceable, that he may obtain a plausible pretence to draw the People to cry out for a New one, as the onely Cure of all our Maladies. and thus they spent their time, and by these Artifices spoyled the Session of Parliament, *Octob.* 27, 1673. His Majesty being necessitated (as he goes on *pag.* 24.) for the very honour of the Parliament it self, and of his Government, to put an end to many strange Debates and Controversies which could no otherways be done, but by ending

that

that and ſeveral other * Seſſions of Parliament, either House being imbroyl'd in it's ſelf, and both with one another: and ſo utterly incapacitated for any diſpatch of publick buſineſs, and this was by Dr. *Shirley*'s Cauſe, of which I need ſay no more.

* *Jan.* 7. 74. *April* 13. 75.

In 1675. A Proteſtation was publiſhed, containing reaſons why that Parliament ſhould be diſſolved, and a New one called. And at the ſame time another Paper was printed, entituled *The Debate or Arguments for diſſolving this preſent Parliament, and the calling frequent New ones*, &c. in which it is boaſted by the deſigners (concerning the Commons Houſe) that they have a Party of Members in that Houſe (whom the ſaid Print calls many of the ableſt and moſt worthy *Patriots* amongſt them;) whoſe buſineſs it was to ſecond the *Proteſting Lords*, by carrying this Difference (the *Doctor's Cauſe*) betwixt the Houſes to the greateſt height, that by this means they might deliver the Nation from this Parliament by Diſſolution, and have a New one Called. *Pacquet*, &c. *pag.* 36. And if I might, I would enquire Whether this honeſt deſign is not driven on ſtill by the ſame party, that the Nation may at laſt be forced to ſubmit to a King without a Parliament, which they believe is impoſſible, or to a Parliament without a King? At leaſt we may obſerve that the ſame Arts a little varied, have been made uſe of to blow up the three laſt Parliaments, which were employed for the ruin of that Loyal one, and that by the ſame men. For it is uſual with them to compaſs Sea and Land to gain a Parliament, and then break it in pieces upon the ſmalleſt pretence in the World, or render it uſeleſs, dangerous and impracticable; and yet if they be diſſolved, to fill the Ears of the People with Clamours, and their Heads with Jealouſies of Tyranny, Arbitrary Government, and ſtanding Armies: and thus whether they have a Parliament;

liament or none, the King is never to have any quiet, nor the People any reſt, till they have obtained their Ends, the laſt of which is the ſubverſion of the Monarchy, and the Eſtabliſhing a Parliament or Senate rather, Abſolute and Accountable neither to him nor to the People. All which is undeniably proved by that Author, *Pag.* 37, 38, 39, 40. and which is ſo worthy of a cloſe Reflection, and is ſo pertinent to our Times, that it looks like a Prophecy, and therefore I refer my Reader to it.

In 1676. the ſame Year the Pacquet was printed, all their other Deſigns for blowing up this Loyal Parliament failing, they printed a Pamphlet with this Title: *A Seaſonable Argument to perſuade all the Grand Juries in* England *to Petition for a new Parliament, Or, A Liſt of the principal Labourers in the great Deſign of Popery; and Arbitrary Power, who have betrayed their Country to the Conſpirators, and Bargained with them to maintain a ſtanding Army in* England, *under the Command of the Bigotted Popiſh D. who by the Aſſiſtance of the L.* L's Scotch *Army, the Forces in* Ireland, *and thoſe in* France, *hopes to bring all back to* Rome. Wherein, all thoſe Miniſters of State who were Members of that Parliament, are therefore repreſented as Penſioners and Men not to be truſted; and about two or three hundred other Gentlemen are with all imaginable Malice, Falſhood and Rudeneſs, expoſed in print to the hatred and contempt of the Multitude, but yet it is obſervable, it was not thought fit then to put that Liberty of the People in practice they have ſince, *viz.* that of popular tumultuous getting hands to Petitions; but the Grand Juries are ſollicited, and the Statute purſued; for the Parliament was then in being that made it, and would ſoon have cruſhed this popular pretence, and have taught them, tho they might petition yet it muſt be in a regular way; and that their Deſigns

were

were not againſt the Parliament only, but his Majeſties Government too, appears by drawing what Odium they could upon the Guards, and the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* Forces, which are obſtacles too great for theſe Loyal Gentlemen to endure. At the ſame time alſo they printed a damnable Libel under the Title of *The Growth of Popery*, wherein they Libell'd the whole Government. But this Parliament having had the leiſure during a long receſs to conſider ſeriouſly what would be the Event of theſe things, in the beginning of their next Seſſion, reskued themſelves from the contempt and deluſion of theſe *Boutefeus:* and having made ſome of them Examples of their juſt reſentment, things went on ſomewhat ſmoother, till the diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*, when they reaſſumed all their old jugling tricks, and drave them on with more fury and better ſucceſs, as I may poſſibly ſhew hereafter; and in the intrim this may ſerve for a taſt till a fuller account may be given of the ways and means by which they are arrived at a poſſibility of ſubverting the Government once more, and imbroyling us in another Rebellion to our Ruine.

But omitting this for the preſent, I will return back and ſee what pains the Popiſh party took to diſſolve this Parliament, and that at the ſame time, as if they and the Diſſenters had been acted by the ſelf ſame Soul, as doubtleſs they then had, and now have the ſame Intereſt; in order to which I ſhall produce *Coleman's* Letter to Monſieur *Le Cheſe*, dated 29 of *Sept.* 75. wherein he ſaith, that in *July*, *Auguſt* and *September* 73. I *conſtantly inculcated the great danger* Catholick Religion, *and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſties intereſt would be in at our next Seſſion of Parliament*, *which was then to be in* October *following*, *at which I plainly foreſee*, *That the King my Maſter would be forced to ſomething in prejudice of his Alliance with* France, *and that he ſhould make a Peace with* Holland,

Holland. *Upon this I ſhewed that our Parliament in the Circumſtances it was in, manag'd by the timerous Counſels of our Miniſters who then governed, could never be uſeful either to* England, France, *or* Catholick Religion, *but that we ſhould certainly be forced from our Neutrality at their next meeting, as we had been from our active Alliance with* France *the laſt; that a Peace in the Circumſtances we were in, was much more to be deſired than the continuance of the War, and that the Diſſolution of our Parliament would certainly procure a Peace, for that the Confederates did more depend upon the Power they had in our Parliament, than upon any thing in the World, and were more encouraged from thence to continue the War; So that if that were Diſſolved, their Meaſures would be all broken, and conſequently they neceſſitated to a Peace.*

Here are the Ends why that Party ſo paſſionately deſired the Diſſolution of that Parliament, becauſe it was the Mound that kept out Popery at home, and preſerved the Proteſtant Intereſt abroad. And therefore no wonder if the good Father *Ferrier* promiſed in the behalf of his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*, That if his *Royal Highneſs* would endeavour to Diſſolve this Parliament, his Majeſty would aſſiſt him with his power and purſe, to have ſuch a New one as ſhould be for their purpoſe; which Anſwer was dated *June* 2. 1674. Now this could be no *Popiſh* Parliament, for that was impoſſible; no Church-of-*England* Parliament, for ſuch this was, therefore it muſt mean a Factious Parliament of Conforming Diſſenters, and Common-wealth men.

But this is not coming up to *Coleman*'s purpoſe, as being too general, he next inſinuates, *That my Lord* Arlington *and the Parliament were not only not uſeful but very dangerous to* England *and* France; *and thereefore it was neceſſary they ſhould do all they could to Diſſolve it.* And to that purpoſe his *Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty*

Majeſty is perſuaded to renew the ſame offer to his Majeſty of his purſe, to Diſſolve this Parliament——and then *there would be no great difficulty of getting a new one which would be more uſeful*, (*i. e.* to *France* and *Popery*) *The Conſtitution of our Parliaments being ſuch, That a New one can never hurt the Crown; nor an Old one do it good.* This Maxim which is repeated ſo often, is to be taken quite backward, and doubtleſs was ſo then in *France*, who were far enough from deſigning the good of the Crown of *England*, much more from giving any money for that purpoſe.

Coleman further tells us how he was notwithſtanding deluded by the *French*, eſpecially after the Parliament was Prorogu'd till the 13*th.* of *April*, 74. of which late Meeting *France* hoped to make the ſame Advantage as of a Diſſolution, and therefore his Propoſal for 300000*l.* for a Diſſolution, was ſlighted by the *French* Ambaſſadour and Monſieur *Pompone*, and he was forced to go on in his Intrigue, and preſs the Diſſolution of the Parliament (without much encouragement) deteſting all Prorogations as ſo much loſs of time only, and a means of ſtrengthening all thoſe who depend upon it in oppoſition to the Crown and Intereſt of *France*, and *Catholick Religion*, in the Opinion they had taken our King durſt not part with this Parliament, apprehending another would be worſe. Now you may be ſure theſe were no Diſſenters, No, they were then as hot as the Papiſts for a Diſſolution, and did expect the next Parliament would be much better for them. And thus things continued till *February*, 1675. when the Papiſts foreſeeing a greater Storm, deſired to have that Parliament continued till they had in ſome ſort provided againſt it.

And one Reaſon was, *becauſe the Parliament* (then greatly oppreſſed and diſordered by Factious men) *had*

 ſet

ſet it ſelf a long time to diſlike every thing the Miniſters did, and had appear'd violently againſt Popery, whilſt the Court ſeem'd to favour it; and therefore (ſaith he) *the Miniſters having turn'd their Faces*) *we were confident the Parliament would do ſo too, and ſtill be againſt them, and be as little for Perſecution then as they had been for Popery before.* And leſt you might be miſtaken of what Party he ſpoke, thus he goes on: *Our Lord Treaſurer, Lord Keeper, all the Biſhops, and ſuch as call themſelves* Old Cavaliers, *were induſtrious againſt Popery, and had the Purſe at their Girdle too, which was an excellent Inſtrument to gain friends with, and all united againſt the* DUKE *as Patron both of* France *and* Catholick Religion; yet how impudently were the Biſhops and Church Party then every day ſlander'd (as they are now) as deſigning to introduce Popery? Oh ye Diſſenters conſider this Teſtimony of a bitter Enemy, and put an end to your *Religious Lying* againſt them.

You may ſee by this the Catholicks were then at a low Ebb, the great Miniſters of State, all the Biſhops and the *Old Cavaliers* were againſt them; and they had no Money neither, but he goes on: *Yet notwithſtanding all this, we ſaw that by the help of the Nonconformiſts (as Presbyterians, Independents, and other Sects, who were as much afraid of Perſecution as our ſelves) and the Enemies of the Miniſters.* (Who are theſe for they are excepted out of the Liſt of the Nonconformiſts?) *and particularly of the Treaſurer (who by that time had ſupplanted the Earl of* Arlington, *and was grown ſole Manager of all Affairs himſelf) we ſhould be able to prevent what they* (the Miniſters, Biſhops, and Church-party,) *deſigned againſt us, and ſo render the Seſſions ineffectual to their Ends* (the ſuppreſſion of Popery) *though we might not be able to compaſs our own, which were to make ſome briſk ſtep in favour of his Royal Highneſs.*

Thus

Thus my dear Countrey-men, the Providence of God hath diſcovered who are the real Friends and Promoters of Popery, even theſe godly Nonconformiſts, and the Ambitious Imbroylers of the Government; and at the ſame time how falſely all the Advantages Popery hath got upon the Government, are aſcribed to the Biſhops and Conformable Clergy; who are every day called *Tories*, *Tantivy-men*, *Papiſts in Maſquerade*, &c. And you may ſee how dreadful a Church-of-*England*-Parliament is to them and *France*, what pains they have taken to Out ſuch a one, and bring us into that Confuſion we are now in. And if we ſhall ſtill go on to promote their Deſigns upon us, the World will conclude we are infatuated by God to our Ruin.

I would not abate one dram of your Zeal againſt Popery, but I have taken all this pains that I might direct it, and if it might be, fix it upon the real Object of it; and then with *Prudence* and *Courage* go on to Extirpate this Scandal of *Chriſtianity*, each man in his place as far and as faſt as you lawfully can or may, and God proſper you in it. But when you take the Biſhops, Conformable Clergy, the Great and Loyal Miniſters of State, the Loyal Gentry and Magiſtrates, for *Papiſts* or *Tories*, that is, *Iriſh Thieves*, you are under the ſame deluſion *Don Quixot* was, when he took the Windmill for a Gyant, and the Flock of Innocent Sheep for an Army of Enemies. And every ſtep you take in complyance with this delirous Conceit, is an advance towards Popery: if you imagine the Papiſts have not been able by their own ſingle ſtrength and cunning to work us all this Miſchief, you are in the right, and *Coleman* ſore againſt his will, hath told you what Auxiliaries they have amongſt us, and who are the Enemies they fear,

and must vanquish at any rate. Whilst the Parliament was intirely Church-of-*England*, the Papists and Dissenters joyned hand in hand to confound it, but when it became disordered by Factious men, unserviceable to the Nation, the two Houses imbroyled within themselves and each with other, then the Papists were for the sitting of it, because they knew it could not hurt them or *France*, nor benefit the Protestant Religion by Law Established, which is the only Protestant Religion in *England*, against which all their Forces are bent: But yet because it was but too likely this Loyal Parliament which was sound at the Heart, though full of sickly Humours at that time, might afterwards recover her former state of Health, the Papists and Dissenters never left the Chase against her, till finally by the frauds of the Jesuites abroad, and the fury of the Dissenters within doors, this Loyal, Healing, truly Protestant Parliament fell, and with it the Terror of *France*, the Bulwark of our Protestant Allies, the Pillars of the Monarchy, the Peace and Prosperity of the *British* Isles, and the Glory of *England*, may my Reader pardon me if I drop a few tears at the Funeral of so great a Body, and which had deserved so well of his Majesty, the Church, the State, and all *Europe*, and I could almost say with *David*, *I would God I had dyed for Thee.*

By all this my dear Countrey-men may see how the Dissenters grew up in these last Twenty years, and improved every accident to their advantage, as they are, a restless sort of men, and not unlike the Devil, always going about seeking whom they may subvert and Ruin; they wrought upon the discontents of such of the Old *Cavaliers* as mist Preferment, Cherished their own disheartned party by Contributions and close Cabals, made up their own breaches and reconciled their own differences, flattered the people with the Title of Saints,

and

and Holy Perſons, even them that before his Majeſties Return they moſt deteſted: they Sainted the King's Murderers, turned every little Accident that happen'd to their Enemies into a Prodigy, and then made it an Argument of God's Anger againſt them, fomented Forein Wars, made the burning of *London*, a means to fire the Church and Nation, by turning the fault upon the King's Guards, and inſinuating as far as they durſt That the King was the Author of it. And when his Majeſty gave them an Indulgence they improv'd it to ſubvert his People, and imbroyl the Elections of Parliament-men, and the Houſe; till his Majeſty ſcarce knew which way to turn him, they filled the Corporations with diſſatisfied People; and when notwithſtanding their wheels went heavily, they taught the People the lawfulneſs of breaking Oaths, of Equivocations and Mental Reſervations, they reviv'd all the Old Fears and Jealouſies againſt the Church and Biſhops, and made the Rabble believe, That all that were for Monarchy were for Arbitrary Government: all that ſtood ſtoutly for the Religion Eſtabliſhed were Papiſts; and in the mean time, all that were perfectly indifferent whether we had any Religion or no, they ſtiled *Moderate Men*; all thoſe Clergy-men who left them and Conformed, they ſtiled *Turn-coats*, *Time-ſervers*, &c. all the reſt they called *Drunkards*, *Baal's Prieſts*, *Surcingle-men*, and the like: they peſtred the Nation with Swarms of factious and diſloyal Pamphlets and Diſcourſes, and ſpread all thoſe Reports they could invent or gather up to the diſadvantage of the Government; and as for thoſe Taxes and Supplies, thoſe Guards and Laws which themſelves had made neceſſary; they repreſented them to the People as the Acts or Inſtruments of Tyranny and Arbitrary Government. And now O my Countrey-men, Are theſe *Vipers* to be Cheriſhed in your boſoms any longer?

Skinner's *Mobis Comp.* p. 142.

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they that from the loweſt degree of deſpair and the brink of ruin have riſen by theſe godly Arts to this height of Power, can you think a few fruitleſs wiſhes can ſuppreſs them? I tell you nothing but what you know, and your own Reaſons will tell you the reſt, if you will but conſult them, but if you will not, Time will roar it ſo loud in your Ears that you ſhall hear though not help it.

But notwithſtanding all their Arts, ſuch was the Care of the Government, That they made but ſmall Progreſs till the Diſcovery of the late Helliſh Popiſh Plot, nor had that turned ſo much to their Advantage as it hath done, if the ſtrangeneſs of the Deſign had not rendred it almoſt incredible with knowing men, and the freſh Alarms theſe men have often given us when there was no Cauſe, made many more ſuſpitious when there really was one: So that I reckon they of all men are moſt Anſwerable for the difficulty of many men in believing it, who have made the greateſt uſe of that unbelief, and who have made it their buſineſs to inſinuate into all men, that all that care that was taken to prevent deſception in the beginning of the diſcovery, was deſigned to ſtifle it, as it cannot be denied but that by Accident it made the diſcovery leſs apparent; the Conſpirators having time enough to burn or convey away thoſe Papers, that might have made the Diſcovery more apparent.

The Popiſh Gentry in the times of the late Troubles, by Choice or Neceſſity generally took part with his Majeſties Father and were Soldiers under him, and after his preſent Majeſties Defeat at *Worceſter*, were very inſtrumental in his Eſcape into *France*; and to this we may Add, That after this during his Exile, he living ſo many years in the Dominions of *Roman Catholick* Princes, as he expreſſeth it in an Anſwer to the Com-

Commons, *April*, 2: 1663. and they having performed him ſome eminent Services in the time of his greateſt Affliction, and being naturally of a Generous and good Nature, Grateful and Merciful beyond the meaſure of any Prince beſides himſelf. At his firſt return and at all times after, he was as kind to them as the nature of their Religion would permit him, and perhaps beyond his Intereſt, as well as above their deſerts.

And had their Modeſty been any way proportionable to his Majeſties Goodneſs, and not incenſed the Parliament againſt them, they might have lived under him as happily as they could have wiſhed, but it is not the temper of theſe men to be quiet, or permit others to be ſo in any condition, and from this natural temper the Prieſts and Jeſuits eſpecially grew inſolent, which occaſioned ſeveral Addreſſes from the Parliament to his Majeſty for ſevere Proclamations againſt them, one in the year laſt mentioned, in *March*; to which his Majeſty Anſwered *April* 2. which was ſeconded by another Vote the 25*th*. of *July* the ſame year, and ſo we hear no more of them till the 26*th*. of *October*, 1666. when the Commons moved for another Proclamation for the Baniſhment of Prieſts and Jeſuits out of his Kingdoms, and alſo for the Execution of the Laws againſt them that ſhould afterwards be taken, which ſeems to be occaſioned by the Fire of *London* the month before, of which they were then vehemently ſuſpected to be the Authors and Promoters: and the 4*th*. of *March*, 1667. upon Information of the inſolent Carriages and Abuſes committed by perſons in ſeveral places, in diſturbing the Miniſters in their Churches, and holding Meetings of their own contrary to the Laws of this Realm, the Lower Houſe of Parliament Addreſs'd again for a Proclamation for enforcing the Laws againſt Conventicles, and that Care might be taken for the

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preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom againſt unlawful Aſſemblies of Papiſts and Nonconformiſts, which his Majeſty promiſed. And again the *Third* of *November*, 1669. the Commons thanked the King for ſuch another Proclamation which was it ſeems then renewed, all which Proclamations may be obſerved to be levell'd only againſt the *Roman* Clergy, whilſt their Nobility and Gentry were cheriſhed and countenanced as much as any other of his Majeſties Subjects, and had ſome Places of Truſt and Profit under his Majeſty, till at laſt their power became ſo formidable, that it was thought neceſſary to exclude them from that advantage by an Act made in the *Twenty Fifth* year of his Majeſties Reign, and by the *Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, they had their ſhare in the common exemption from the Execution of the *Penal Laws*, and the Exerciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes, though they were not allowed publick places of Worſhip. And after this was taken away and the ſaid Act made, they had the ſame connivence with the Diſſenters, till about *February*, 167$\frac{4}{5}$, when there came forth a ſharper Declaration againſt them than againſt the Diſſenters, and it is to be obſerved, That from his Majeſties return till the diſcovery of the Plot, there was but one Law made againſt them, and that not till after many great provocations, and that took nothing from them that was their own. *Secondly*, That notwithſtanding all theſe Declarations and Proclamations, there was ſcarce any Execution of any Laws againſt them but the laſt, and that was ſometimes diſpenſed with, as appears by the Complaint of the Houſe of Commons againſt Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* one of the Secretaries of State, the 19*th.* of *November*, 1678. in ſome ſort owned by his Majeſty the 23*d.* of the ſame Month, with a promiſe of Redreſs.

Thô I cannot poſitively aver that this was all that was done againſt them till the diſcovery of the Plot which was near *Eighteen* years after his Majeſties Return; yet all the World bear record to this, That never were any People treated with more Lenity and Mercy than they were, and if they had none of the gainful employments, they were much leſs troubled with any of the chargeable and troubleſom places; and time and their forced Loyalty had obliterated the memory of their former Crimes in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, and few believed thoſe againſt his Majeſties Father, ſo that they were but too well thought of by their Neighbouring Gentry, and viſited and careſſed by them without any diſtinction, or ſcarce remembrance that they were of another Religion: And there had been a view taken alſo of their Numbers in the Year 1676. and that was thought ſo inconſiderable, that our fears too were even laid aſleep.

No wonder then if after all this, ſuch a prodigious unprovok'd Deſign as the Late Plot, was hardly believed, and had they not been the moſt bloody ungrateful miſcreants that ever aroſe amongſt men, there could have been no ſuch thing, And the diſcovery being made only by Dr. *Oats* and no other witneſſes to back it, they might have weathered the ſtorm, if firſt *Coleman*'s Papers and after them the murder of Sir *Edmund. Godfry*, had not given the Nation new Alarms, which are chiefly to be attributed to the Providence of God watching over them for the Puniſhment of ſuch unmanly and unchriſtian Cruelty and Malice.

By all this it will appear as there was no more reaſon why theſe bloody men ſhould thus conſpire his Majeſties Death and the Ruin of the Nation, ſo there was great reaſon it ſhould not be too eaſily believed they had, it being the nature of Innocency alſo, not to ſuſpect

others haſtily of thoſe things it doth abhor, and the moſt Generous Princes being naturally the leaſt Jealous, whilſt the timerous, and they that are Ill Natur'd and have done many Injuries, ſuſpect every Noiſe and Motion as the Harbingers of Revenge; we may with much more probability aſſign his Majeſties ſlowneſs of belief to his temper, than to any favour he bore to the Offenders or their Religion.

But yet the Diſſenters who lay gaping for all Advantages againſt his Majeſty and the Government, and had now recovered ſome part of their loſt Credit with the People, making uſe of the Conſternation and Affright all men were then in, which was the greater, becauſe the true extent of the Cauſe was not then known, by all ways imaginable turn'd all this to the diſhonour of the King and the Miniſters of State, attributing every thing that fell out, to a deſigned intention of ſtifling the knowledge of the Plot, as they did inſinuate alſo that this was the effect of the too great Power and Credit of ſome Papiſt about the King, and from thence proceeded to repreſent his Majeſty as a favourer of Papiſts and Popery, and at laſt that he was in the Plot againſt his own Life and Kingdom. And if any man could not Aſſent to this, preſently he was branded as a defamer of the King's Evidence, if not a Papiſt and a Party in the Plot.

As they thus aggravated the danger beyond all Senſe and Reaſon, ſo they pretended to no leſs extravagant degrees of Fear, every where pretending that they thought it was impoſſible to hinder the Plot from being executed upon us, declaiming one while againſt the Perfidy and Cruelty of the Jeſuits, and another while againſt the negligence and careleſneſs of our Governours, not ſparing to tax all thoſe they hated as favourers of the Plotters, eſpecially if they endeavoured to reſettle the People,

People, or ſhew them the danger now it was diſcovered, was not ſo great as it was pretended, and by this means got a wonderful Credit with the unconſidering People, for their Zeal againſt Papiſts and Popery.

And this was no new thing with them, for as *Cambden* aſſures us, their Forefathers behaved themſelves at the ſame rate 1588. when the Nation was under the like conſternation by reaſon of the then threatned *Spaniſh* Invaſion, when all other men were full of Fears, they becoming inſolent and inſufferable to the Queen and to the Government, but that apprehenſion did not laſt long, but this coming out by degrees, gave them more ſcope and better means of pulling up the Affections of men to that height they deſigned to bring them.

In the interim, the King and Council having made the beſt inquiry they could for the time into the Plot, the Parliament which was Prorogued to gain a little time, met the *Twenty firſt* day of *October*, when his Majeſty Acquainted them with the Plot in theſe very words.

I Now intend to Acquaint you (as I ſhall always do with any thing that concerns me) that I have been informed of a deſign againſt my Perſon, by the Jeſuits, *of which I ſhall forbear my Opinion, leſt I may ſeem to ſay too much or too little, but I will leave the matter to the Law; and in the mean time will take as much Care as I can to prevent all manner of practices by that ſort of men, and of others too who have been tampering in a high degree with Foreiners, and contriving how to introduce Popery amongſt us——*

And the Lord Chancellor told them amongſt other things:

That there was a ſtrange Concurrence of ill Accidents at that time, that it was not to be wonder'd at, if ſome honeſt and good men began to be troubled and have thoughtful hearts;

yet that which is infinitely to be lamented, is, That malicious men too begin to work upon this Occaſion, and are in no ſmall hopes to raiſe a ſtorm that nothing ſhall be able to allay. By which laſt paſſage I ſuppoſe his Lordſhip reflected upon theſe men I have been diſcourſing of; at leaſt I am ſure the event hath apply'd it to them, and made that period look too like a Prophecy for the good of *England.*

I deſire my Reader would not expect from me a full Hiſtory of Tranſactions of this Seſſion of Parliament, becauſe this would ſwell the Diſcourſe into too great a bulk, but yet I ſhall give an Account of ſome of the moſt material Occurrences which ſuit my purpoſe, and I ſhall begin with the Addreſs they preſented to his Majeſty concerning the removing all Popiſh Recuſants from within Ten Miles of the City of *London*; which was tendered to his Majeſty by both Houſes of Parliament on *Saturday* the *Twenty ſixth* of the ſame *October*, which I have tranſcribed at length to ſhew the Zeal of the Houſes for his Preſervation, and his Majeſties ready Complyance with them for their Satisfaction.

WE Your Majeſties moſt dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, having taken into our ſerious Conſideration, the Bloody and Traiterous Deſigns of Popiſh Recuſants againſt Your Majeſties ſacred Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion, wherewith Your Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to Acquaint us; For the preventing whereof we do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, That Your Majeſty would graciouſly pleaſe by Your Royal Proclamation to Command all and every perſon or perſons, being Popiſh Recuſants, or ſo reputed, forthwith under pain of Your Majeſties higheſt diſpleaſure, and ſevere Execution of Your Laws againſt them, to depart and retire themſelves and their Families, from Your Royal Palaces

Palaces of White-Hall, Somerſet-Houſe, *and St.* James, *the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and from all other places within ten Miles of the ſame, and that no ſuch Perſon or Perſons do preſume at any time hereafter, to repair or return to your Majeſties ſaid Palaces, or the ſaid Cities, or either of them, or within ten Miles of the ſame, other than Houſeholders, being Traders, exerciſing ſome Trade or manual Occupation, and ſetled for twelve Months laſt paſt in Houſes of their own, and not having any Habitation elſewhere, giving in their own Names, and the Names of all perſons in their Families, to the two next Juſtices of the Peace. And that it may be inſerted into the ſaid Proclamation, That immediately after the day limited for their departure the Conſtables, Churchwardens, and other Pariſh Officers, go from Houſe to Houſe in their ſeveral Pariſhes, Hamlets, Conſtabularies and Diviſions reſpectively, and there take an Account of the Names and Surnames of all ſuch Perſons as are Popiſh Recuſants, or ſuſpected ſo to be, as well Houſeholders, as Lodgers or Servants, and to carry a Liſt of their Names to the two next Juſtices of the Peace, who are to be thereby required and enjoyned to ſend for them and every of them, and to tender them and every of them the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to commit to Priſon till the next ſucceeding Seſſions of the Peace, all ſuch perſons as ſhall refuſe the ſaid Oaths, and at the ſaid Seſſions to proceed againſt them according to Law. And that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to direct Commiſſions to be forthwith iſſued under the Great Seal of* England *to all Juſtices within the Cities of* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and within ten miles of the ſame to Authoriſe and Require them, or any two of them, to Adminiſter the ſaid Oaths accordingly. And that your Majeſty would further pleaſe to Command That no Warrant or Licence be granted by the Lords of your Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, or any of them, or otherwiſe for the ſtay, return, or repair of any ſuch perſon or perſons in or to any of the ſaid places, till ſome more effectual*

Law

Law be paſſed for preventing the ſaid Popiſh Conſpiracies, and for the preſervation of your Majeſties Sacred Perſon, and the Religion and Government by Law Eſtabliſhed, for which we your Majeſties moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, will always employ our utmoſt endeavours and daily Prayers. And whereas the ſafety and preſervation of your Majeſties Sacred Perſon is of ſo great a Conſequence and Concernment to the Proteſtant Religion, and to all your Subjects, we do further moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to Command the Lord Chamberlain, and all other the Officers of your Majeſties Houſhold to take a ſtrict care that no unknown or ſuſpitious perſons, may have Acceſs near your Majeſties Perſon. And that your Majeſty will likewiſe pleaſe to Command the Lord Major and Lieutenancy of London, *to appoint ſufficient Guards of the Trained Bands within the City of* London, *during this Seſſion of Parliament; and likewiſe the Lord Lieutenants of* Middleſex *and* Surrey, *to appoint the like Guards of the Trained Bands in* Middleſex, Weſtminſter *and* Southwark, *and other Places adjacent as ſhall be thought neceſſary.*

To which long and various Addreſs, his Majeſty Reply'd:

You ſhall have the Effect of your deſire, and that he would give ſpeedy Orders for putting the ſame in Execution.

And with the ſame frankneſs he granted ſeveral other Addreſſes made by both or either of the Houſes concerning this Affair, which are plain Arguments he neither favoured the Plot nor the Plotters, as hath been ſince moſt falſly and maliciouſly Charged upon him.

October 24. Before this my Lord Chief Juſtice *Scroggs* being ſent for by the Houſe of Commons, at their requeſt had granted

granted his Warrant for the apprehenſion of the Earl of *Powis*, Viſcount *Stafford*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*, the Lord *Peters*, and the Lord *Bellaſis*, who were then Charged before them as principal Agents in the Plot.

And although the Lord Viſcount *Stafford* and the Lord *Peters* complained of this in the Houſe of Lords, yet they were committed by virtue of that Warrant.

And doubtleſs had things been permitted to go on thus, the buſineſs of the Plot had not been continued a foot as it is to this day, to the great diſquiet both of the King and Kingdom.

But to proceed, the Addreſſes preſented to the King this week, were *Firſt*, One from both Houſes for a Faſt. *Secondly*, One from the Lords for the Papers relating to the Plot. *Thirdly*, A ſhorter Addreſs than that I have recited, for Baniſhing Popiſh Recuſants from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* and the Liberties thereof, by the Lords only, who notwithſtanding agreed to that of the Commons. *Fourthly*, An Addreſs from the Commons to deſire That Mr. *Coleman's* and all other Papers relating to the Plot might be communicated to them: to all which his Majeſty Aſſented.

Upon *Fryday*, the *firſt* day of *November*, the Commons made this Vote:

Reſolved *Nemine Contradicente*:

THat upon the Evidence that has already appeared to this Houſe, this Houſe is of Opinion, That there has been, and ſtill is a damnable and helliſh Plot, contrived and carried on by the Popiſh Recuſants, for Aſſaſſinating and Murthering the King, ſubverting the Government, and rooting out and deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion.

Which

Which being the ſame day communicated to the Lords at a Conference, they moſt readily and unanimouſly concurred with them in it, promiſing further that they would ſuffer nothing to be wanting on their parts which may preſerve a good correſpondence between the two Houſes, which is abſolutely neceſſary to the ſafety of the King and Kingdom. And accordingly the next day at a Conference the Lords acquainted the Commons that the Roof of the Commons Houſe was ſo rotten, that it was in danger upon any great Storm to fall, and that they had reſolved to Addreſs to his Majeſty for their remove into the *Court of Requeſts*, which was kindly taken by the Commons, and the Thanks of the Houſe Ordered to be given to the Lords.

Monday, the 4*th*. day of *November* a debate ariſing in the Houſe of Commons for an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty That his Royal Highneſs may withdraw himſelf from his Majeſties Perſon and Counſels, it was Ordered that the Debate be adjourned till *Fryday* morning, and then to the *Tueſday* following.

Saturday, *November* the 9*th*. his Majeſty made this following Speech to both Houſes.

'I Am ſo ſenſible of the great and extraordinary Care 'you have already taken and ſtill do continue to ſhew 'for the ſafety of my Perſon in theſe times of Danger, 'that I could not ſatisfie my ſelf without coming hither 'on purpoſe to give you all my moſt hearty thanks for 'it.

'Nor do I think it enough to give you my thanks 'only; but I hold my ſelf obliged to let you ſee withal, 'That I do as much ſtudy your preſervation too as I can 'poſſible: And that I am as ready to joyn with you 'in all the ways and means that may Eſtabliſh a firm 'Security of the *Proteſtant Religion*, as your own hearts 'can

'can wiſh, and this not only during my time (of which 'I am ſure you have no fear) but in all future Ages even 'to the end of the World.

'And therefore I am come to aſſure you, that whatſo-'ever reaſonable Bills you ſhall preſent to be paſt into 'Laws to make you ſafe in the Reign of my Succeſſor '(ſo as they tend not to impeach the Right of Succeſ-'ſion nor the deſcent of the Crown in the true Line, and 'ſo as they reſtrain not my Power, nor the juſt rights of 'any Proteſtant Succeſſor) ſhall find from me a ready 'concurrence.

'And I deſire you withal to think of ſome more effe-'ctual means for the Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants 'and to expedite your Counſels as faſt as you can, that 'the World may ſee our Unanimity, and that I may have 'the Opportunity of ſhewing you how ready I am to do 'any thing that may give Comfort and Satisfaction to 'ſuch Dutiful and Loyal Subjects.

With which Speech the Commons were ſo pleaſed, That they reſolved to go in a Body to give his Majeſty their Thanks. At which time his Majeſty returned this Anſwer:

Gentlemen,

IT ſhall always be my ſtudy to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion, and to Advance and Support the Intereſt of my People.

Upon *Monday* the *Eleventh* of *November*, the Commons taking Notice that no Commiſſions had been iſſued out purſuant to the Proclamation founded upon the Addreſs of both Houſes for the Adminiſtring the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, deſired a Con-

ference with the Lords, who ſhewed that they had been debating about ſome reſtriction to have been inſerted into the ſaid Commiſſions, but finding it difficult had that Morning Sealed the Commiſſions without any Limitations, with which Anſwer the Commons were ſatisfied.

Novemb. 18. The next *Monday*, Secretary *Williamſon* was Committed to the *Tower* by the Commons, being a Member of their Houſe and then preſent, for Granting Warrants to Popiſh Recuſants that they ſhould be Muſtered, tho they had not taken the Oaths, and ſubſcribed the Declaration according to the Act of Parliament. But the next day his Majeſty ſent for the Houſe, and after a ſhort Reprimand for Committing ſo great an Officer without Acquainting him with it, told them he would diſcharge the Secretary forthwith, which he did, and when the Commons drew up an Addreſs, repreſenting the reaſons of their Proceedings, his Majeſty replyed as followeth:

C. R.

'HIS Majeſty having received an Addreſs the 19*th*. 'Inſtant from this Houſe, is pleaſed to return this 'Anſwer, That he releaſed Mr. Srcretary *Williamſon* ſe- 'veral Hours before your Addreſs came, as he told you in 'the Banqueting-Houſe he would do.

'As to the reaſon of granting thoſe Commiſſions, his 'Majeſty Acquainted you at large with them in his Speech 'when you laſt attended him: but in Anſwer to your 'preſent Addreſs, his Majeſty promiſeth to recall all Com- 'miſſions whatſoever given to Papiſts or reputed Papiſts 'either in *England* or *Ireland*, immediately; and for his 'remoter Dominions, they ſhall be recalled likewiſe with 'all the expedition the Safety of thoſe Places will per- 'mit.

The

The Secretary abſtained from the Houſe after this, and the buſineſs ended.

On *Monday* the 25*th.* of *November*, his Majeſty by a Speech deſired the Opinion of the Parliament for the continuance or disbanding of the Forces that had been raiſed, and were then on foot for the preſervation of *Flanders*. And on *Wedneſday* following the Houſe of Commons paſſed theſe Reſolves in that Affair.

I. 'That it is neceſſary for the Safety of his Majeſties 'Perſon and Preſerving the Peace of the Government, 'That all the Forces which have been raiſed ſince *Sept.* 29. '1677. and all others that ſince that time have been 'brought over from beyond Seas from Forein Service be 'forthwith disbanded.

II. 'It is the humble Opinion and deſire of the Houſe, 'That the Forces which are now in *Flanders* may be im-'immediately called over, in order to their disbanding.

III. 'That this Houſe would to morrow morning re-'ſolve it ſelf into a Committee of the whole Houſe to 'conſider of the manner of disbanding the Army.

Which they did the 29*th.* and paſſed ſeveral Reſolves in that caſe, too long to be here inſerted.

On *Saturday* the 30*th.* of *November*, his Majeſty paſſed an Act for diſabling any Papiſt to ſit in either Houſe of Parliament; in which was a Teſt preſcribed, and the Members of both Houſes Commanded to take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance alſo: but there was a Second Bill tender'd to him, Entituled *An Act for preſerving the Peace of the Kingdom by raiſing the Militia, and continuing them in Duty for Two and Forty Days.* Which his Majeſty refuſed to paſs, and gave this reaſon for it in a ſhort Speech, *viz.*

The Printed Journal of the Lords, p. 116.

He told the Lords and Commons, That he did not refuse to pass this Act for the dislike of the matter, but the manner, because it puts the Militia for so many days out of his power, if it had been but for half an hour, he would not have Consented to it, because of the ill Consequences it may have hereafter, the Militia being wholly in the Crown; and so far as he is enabled by Law to raise the Militia, if they will enable him with money to pay them, he shall employ such of them as he thinks fit, and are necessary for the safety of himself and the Kingdom.

His Majesty said (also) he had passed the other Bill which is of very great importance, of which there may be ill Consequences hereafter, but he was willing to oblige them, who have thought it fitting at this time, and hopes they will be careful to give him all due Satisfaction for the future. His Majesty also gave further Satisfaction to the Commons about the *Militia Bill*, the *Fourth* of *December* following.

To look a little back, On *Thursday* the 28*th.* of this Month, the House of Commons having with great Secrecy Examined Mr. *Bedloe* and Mr. *Oats*, Voted this following Addres:

WE your Majesties most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the and Commons, in this present Parliament Assembled, having received Informations by several Witnesses of a most Desperate and Trayterous Design and Conspiracy, against the Life of your Sacred Majesty, wherein to their great Astonishment, the Queen is particularly Charged and Accused. In discharge of our Allegiance, and out of our Affections and Care for the preservation of your Majesties Sacred Person, and consequently of the whole Kingdom, do most humbly beseech your Majesty,

Majeſty, That the Queen and all her Family, and all Papiſts and reputed Papiſts, be forthwith removed from your Majeſties Court at White-Hall.

This being ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence, after an exact Enquiry into the Evidence upon which it was grounded, their Lordſhips rejected it on the *Fryday* following.

On *Wedneſday* the *Fourth* of *November*, The Commons drew up another Addreſs to his Majeſty, and deſired the Concurrence of the Lords to it, for the Apprehending Diſarming and Securing all Popiſh Recuſants, and all others who ſhall or may be juſtly ſuſpected Papiſts, and them to oblige in Recognizances with ſufficient Bail to keep the Peace and be of good behaviour, and in default thereof them to impriſon, and to return the Names of ſuch perſons with their Recognizances to the next general Seſſions of the Peace for their reſpective Limits, to proceed thereupon according to Law: which was done accordingly.

The next day five of the Members of the Houſe of Commons impeached each of them ſeverally one of the five Lords in the Tower: *viz.*

Mr. *Michael Wharton*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardor*.
Mr. *Baniſter Maynard*, *William* Earl of *Powis*.
Mr. *Thyn*, *John* Lord *Bellaſis*.
Sir *Scroop How*, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*.
Sir *Philip Warwick*, *William* Lord *Peters*.

With promiſe that they would in convenient time Exhibit to their Lordſhips the Articles of the Charge againſt them.

There was alſo ſeveral Addreſſes and Votes in both Houſes concerning Mr. *Oats*, whom his Majeſty had Ordered

Ordered to be cloſely obſerved to prevent Aſſaſſination on one hand, and being tampered on the other.

To *Dec.* 14. The Week following was ſpent by the Commons in preparing a Bill for the paying off and disbanding the Army.

On *Thurſday* the 19*th.* of *December*, the fatal buſineſs betwixt the Earl of *Danby*, and the late Ambaſſadour in *France*, Mr. *Mountagne*, then a Member of the Houſe of Commons, came firſt upon the Carpet in the Lower Houſe; his Majeſty giving them Account that he had Ordered the ſeizing Mr. *Mountagues* Papers upon Information, he held ſeveral private Conferences with the Popes Nuncio in *France* without any Directions or Inſtructions from his Majeſty.

To which the Houſe demurr'd, and deſired to know whether the Information were given upon Oath, and of what Nature the Offence was that was thus complained of.

But the ſaid Mr. *Mountague* producing two Letters of the Earl of *Danby*'s to him, when Ambaſſadour in *France*, turned the Houſe ſo violently againſt the Earl, That they reſolved forthwith to Impeach him, and accordingly appointed a Committee to draw up Articles againſt him the ſame day.

And fearing this Career might have been ſtopt, they paſſed this Reſolve, and made it be entred as a ſtanding Order.

That Mr. *Speaker ſhall not at any time Adjourn the Houſe without a Queſtion firſt put, if it be inſiſted upon.*

Having done little or nothing the day following, on *Saturday* they brought in Six Articles againſt him, and after a ſharp Conteſt Voted them all againſt him.

Which was no ſooner done but all the Noiſe and Diſcourſe was turned from the Popiſh Plot and the five Lords in the Tower, to the Earl of *Danby*; and they that

that ſpoke moſt modeſtly ſaid, It was a haſty and unſeaſonable Act, foreſeeing eaſily enough that it would break that Seſſion of Parliament.

On *Monday*, without taking any other Notice of a Meſſage from his Majeſty, but the reading ſome Letters ſent with it, they went on with the Impeachment, and then Reſolved, *Decemb.* 23.

'That an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty humbly to 'deſire his Majeſty to have a great regard to the Safety 'and Preſervation of his Perſon.

And then ſent up the Articles of Impeachment to the Lords the ſame day.

Saturday being ſpent in debating the amendments offered by the Lords to the Bill for Disbanding the Army, wherein many hard things were put upon his Majeſty, the Army, and the Court of Exchequer, which were digeſted by his Majeſty and the Lords, by reaſon of the great deſire he and they had to free the Nation from the Charge of the Army.

On *Monday* the 30*th.* of *December*, the King ſent for the Commons to attend him in the Houſe of Lords, where he Paſſed the Bill for Disbanding the Army, and Prorogued both Houſes of Parliament to the *Fourth* day of *February* following:

The Journal of the Lords Houſe ſaith, the King made a Speech to this effect to both Houſes.

'HIS Majeſty ſaid, That it is with great unwillingneſs that he is come to tell them that he intends to 'Prorogue them; all of them are witneſs that he hath 'not been uſed well, the particulars of which he will acquaint them with at a more ſeaſonable time, in the 'mean time he will immediately enter upon the Disbanding of the Army, and do what he can for the good

'of

'of the Kingdom and ſafety of Religion, that he will 'proſecute the Diſcovery of the Plot to find out the In-'ſtruments of it, and he will take all the Care that is 'in his Power to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion as it is 'now Eſtabliſh'd. He ſaid he had no more to ſay to 'them, but leaves it to the Lord Chancellor to Prorogue 'them as he had commanded him.

Thus ended that Seſſion of Parliament after the Houſe of Commons had chalk'd out a way for their own diſſolution, which followed not long after.

The Houſe of Commons in this Seſſion were divided into two great Parties, which were called the *Court-Party* and the *Country-Party*, almoſt equal in number, and all other things, but the ſmall advantage that was lay on the ſide of the latter, and they carried every Vote they contended for. But in the Houſe of Lords the *Country-Party*, were not conſiderable after the Plot had broke their under-hand dealings with the Popiſh Lords.

Accordingly it ſeems to me by the Journals which I have read with great care, the Proceedings of theſe two Houſes were very different.

The Houſe of Commons repreſented all things to the World with a dreadful confuſed Aſpect, which wrought upon the fears and apprehenſions of many People, but ſtill there happen'd to intervene ſo many Obſtructions to publick buſineſs, that little progreſs was made among themſelves toward any proviſion for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of Popery, neither could thoſe excellent means be brought to paſs, which the Lords ſent down for that purpoſe, with meſſage after meſſage, to preſs the minding of them.

There was only three Bills tender'd to his Majeſty, which were all begun in the Lower Houſe, that for

Diſabling

Diſabling Papiſts to ſit in either Houſe; that for *Raiſing the Militia for ſome time*, which was refuſed: and that for *Disbanding the Army*.

But in the Houſe of Lords the greateſt care imaginable was uſed to find out the bottom of the Plot, and every thing that was tendered was diligently ſearched out, and with great Care and Prudence enquired into, and fit Remedies propoſed either by Addreſſes or New Bills, and which upon a fair underſtanding with the Commons, would in a ſmall time have put an end to that reſtleſs Faction.

His Majeſty in the interim denied nothing that was Asked by both or either of the Houſes, except the *Militia Bill*; yet the World was made to believe that he and the *Court-Party* ſtifled the Plot, and the *Country-Parties* were forced to drag it forth as *Hercules* did *Cerberus* with mighty Labour in ſpight of a vaſt reſiſtance.

And it is very obſervable that the five Lords were not impeached of a long time after they were Impriſoned, and that no Articles were tender'd againſt them in all this Seſſion.

But they Impeached the Treaſurer the ſame day he was Accuſed, and ſent up Articles againſt him the Fifth day, which occaſion'd the laying aſide all proceedings concerning the Plot, to run down this Miniſter of State.

The Disbanding of the Army alſo was ſo ſudden, and limited to ſo ſhort a time, that his Majeſty was forced to ſend for the Forces out of *Flanders* in the depth of the Winter, by which means many of thoſe men that had with ſo much Courage and Bravery, to the Immortal Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, beat the *French* at *Mons*, periſhed by Sea and Land, through ſickneſs, want and cold, who might have been preſerved by being continued there till the Spring; to ſay nothing of the

Scotch Rebellion, that brake out immediately upon the Diſſolution of that Army, which might have proved of dangerous conſequence, had it not been timely ſuppreſt.

Neither would I of all the World have concerned myſelf about any of theſe things if they had ended here, but *England* was not ſo happy, and I ſhall think our condition very hard, if we may not repreſent it to the World.

Nor do I deſign any thing by this, but to put thoſe Gentlemen who are tranſported by the Noiſe and Arts of a Faction to act beyond their Intentions, upon reflecting upon what is paſt, that they may be forewarned how they follow them into further miſchiefs.

The Journal Books of both the Houſes being Printed, I refer the Reader to them for what I have not expreſſed, and for what I have; for I may be miſtaken in ſome particulars, tho I have taken all the care I can to prevent it. And I am not willing to ſwell this Diſcourſe into a volume, which I intend but for an Eſſay or Taſt of what may be ſaid.

The 24*th.* of *January* following, his Majeſty Diſſolved this long Loyal Parliament by Proclamation.

FINIS.

THE SECOND PART OF THE ADDRESS TO THE FREE-MEN AND FREE-HOLDERS OF THE NATION.

By the same Author.

LONDON,
Printed by *A. Godbid* and *J. Playford* for *George Wells*, at the *Sun* in St. *Pauls Church-yard*, 1682.

THE AUTHOR to the READER.

THE kind reception the former Part of this Diſcourſe found in the World hath drawn forth this Second, which had otherwiſe expired in as much Secreſie as it was written. Nor am I concern'd for the future fate of either of them.

But if I might be ſo happy as to diſcover the Errors of thoſe courſes which have brought theſe three Potent Kingdoms, and this moſt Excellent Church into a diſ-eſteem abroad, and great danger at home, and ſo might contribute in the leaſt to the prevention of thoſe Miſchiefs that in time may hazzard the Ruine of them, I ſhould then account my ſelf bleſſed, and my undertaking proſperous, what ever effect it might happen to have upon my private Fortunes.

Next the Preſervation of the publick Peace of any People, the *Advancing* Trade and Commerce, and the Effects, of theſe, Wealth and Power; Reputation and the Conveniences of humane Life, are chiefly to be reguarded; and if I can ſhew that the contrary

of all these will attend the proceeding any further in our late Methods, I shall not question, but all that have any kindness for themselves will see that it is their Interest to desert them.

Commerce and Trade spring Naturally from Peace and Setled Governments; and are cherished and preserv'd by the mutual Trust and Confidence, Love and Kindness which Men have in, and to each other; and where these fail, there is a stop, and sometimes a total ruine of the former.

A very small reflection on the Inconveniences that do attend a War of any Kind, will satisfie a person of mean Capacity, That Trade will stand still when the Sword is in Motion, for Men will not care to venture their Estates or Persons abroad, when they may justly expect to fall into the Hands of Soldiers, who purchase the richest Commodities with their Swords, and pay off the Traders with ready Blows instead of Mony.

The same Effect though not so visibly, must attend any Government that reels and staggers, and seems every day likely (by violence) to be changed into another; for who would imploy his Time, Stock, and Thoughts, to encrease that Wealth, which a Stranger, and it may be his Mortal Enemy, may ravish from him in a moment, after many years toyl and labour to acquire it?

Besides,

Beſides, it is not unuſual for Merchants (who are quick ſighted) when they perceive a Storm to hang over any People, to take Care betimes to lodge their Fortunes, or a conſiderable part of them, in places that are better ſecur'd; the Conſequence of which is, that not only what was imported is waſted, but much that might have been brought in is diverted, and the Neighbour Nations are by that means Enriched, whilſt the Miſerable People languiſh and feel one of the worſt Effects of War, Want, *even in the time of a ſuſpicious Unſetled Peace.*

But this (though bad enough) is not all, the richeſt Men in ſuch Countries, who have any Conſiderable quantities of Treaſure will be likely too, to ſecure as much as they can well ſpare abroad; not knowing how ſoon that which they have by them may fall into other Hands, who will give them but ſmall thanks for it; and it may be, deſtroy them as they do Bees *towards Winter, that they may rifle the Hive with the greater Security. Thus will much more be Exported that might better have been Kept at Home, and the Wealth of the Nation be inſenſibly Waſted.*

And without either of theſe, the diſtruſts and fears of men amongſt themſelves will leſſen their Induſtry, and make them court even Poverty it ſelf, when it promiſeth more Security than an Invidious Fortune.

But if this Effect be not uſual, eſpecially when

Dangers

Dangers are at a distance; yet I suppose few men are so ignorant as not to have observed, that some shaken Governments have endeavoured to secure themselves by the Poverty of their People, who are commonly easiest Govern'd, when like a Ship they are not over-loaden with the weight of too much Wealth, and this must of necessity have a mischievous Effect upon any People, when their Governours contrive their Impoverishment, and promote it in such ways, that they shall feel the Effect, and yet never see the Cause; it is true, we have had nothing of this yet, but who knows how soon we may, if we go on still to provoke it.

I wish I could as truly say, that the Trade and Commerce of these Countries have not designedly been diminished and impaired by them who are opposite to the Establisht Government, with intention to render it uneasie and hated, and the People discontented and ungovernable: but the truth is, there have many things been done of late years, or omitted when they might have been done, which I believe no Mortal can give any sound reason for, if this were not at the bottom; and this hath, and will have the same Influence upon us, as if those that are properly called our Governours had done it.

But not to drive this any further, It is a known Method of promoting broyls in Governments, to stop the Supplies that should preserve and maintain them;

and

and then if a People be really very rich, yet if the Government that ſhould preſerve their Wealth be ſo poor as not to be able to protect them, the People have been always in danger, and ſometimes actually ruin'd. Thus was Charles the Martyr brought to yield ſo much, that at laſt he was forc'd to defend the reſt, and himſelf with his Sword; which beſides all the Blood ſhed, occaſioned the Expence of a vaſt Treaſure; and went very near to the ruine of theſe Three Nations. I ſhall not need to determine how far this Courſe hath been of late purſu'd; but I ſay it tends to the ruine of our Trade and Commerce, by the ſame degrees as it makes our Government weak and contemptible in the World.

When the dangers to any Government have ariſen from Contending Parties or Factions within it ſelf, nothing is more uſual then for thoſe Parties to endeavour the impoveriſhing of each other by interrupting, diverting, and hindring each others Trades; and refuſing each to other the Aid and Aſſiſtance that is abſolutely neceſſary for the promoting them; and that this is every day done among us, is too apparent to be denyed; and the Effects this hath upon the whole Trade of the Nation are ſuch, as no man can penetrate to the bottom of them, or tell where the Miſchief will end.

That I may make theſe general Reflections more

uſeful

useful to my Country-men, I will take a short view of the state of the Trade of England, *since the beginning of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth *of Blessed Memory.*

The State of England *was then very low, and its Condition Deplorable, when God brought that Excellent Prince from the Miseries of a Prison to Support and Restore it; I cannot possibly better represent this than in the Words of* Camden: *'The* State *'of* England *was most miserable at that time, as 'being involved in a War with* Scotland *on the one 'side, and* France *on the other; oppressed with the 'Debts which* Henry *the Eighth, and* Edward *the 'Sixth had Contracted; the Exchequer was Exhau-'sted;* Calis *and the County of* Oyen, *and in them 'a great Magazine, were lost to the dishonour of the 'English Name; and the People were divided in 'their Opinions concerning Religion. The Queen had 'no Potent Friends, nor was fortified with the * Al-'liance (or Kindred) of any Foreign Princes. The Trade of* England *must of necessity be very small when the Nation was thus Near ruine.*

* Cognatione

But when the Queen had once setled the business of Religion; and afterwards had taken care to preserve it from Foreign Violence, by Repairing her Navy Royal, so that it was far Superiour to any other; which gave her Reputation at home, and Fame abroad;

abroad; and also from the Attempts of the Papists *and* Dissenters *by severe Laws, constantly put in Execution, and had thereby Won the Affections of her People, and stilled their Fears: They being secur'd thus at home, began to search all the corners of the World for* Trade, *and sent forth their Fleets to the East and West* Indies, *to* Muscovy, *(by the* Bay *of St.* Nicholas *by them Discover'd,) and* Green-Land, *and indeed, whether not? whence they returned with Honour and Wealth; and made her and themselves Happy.*

One thing that gave a great Advantage to the Trade, and consequently to the Wealth of England, *in her time, was the Devastations which the severity of the Duke* de Alva, *and the Wars of* Flanders *thereby occasion'd, caused in those Countries; by which means we gained some Addition to our People, the knowledge of some Manufactures, which we had not before; and also a vast stock of Mony and Treasure, which altogether had like to have totally ruin'd the* Spanish Netherlands; *but however this concurring with the rest, helped to advance* England *to that height of Wealth, and Reputation in the World, that it was in her days the Bulwark of Christendom; and without any considerable forrein Assistance humbled and brought down the* House of Austria, *which then aimed at an Universal Monarchy.*

But then it cannot be denyed, that together with these Low-Countrymen, *Factions and Common-Weath Principles entred* England: *And although the severity of that Queen, and the great Affection and Veneration the People had for her, added to her Constancy, whose Motto was* Semper eadem, *Always the same, kept them both under, so as they were never able to give her any considerable disturbance; yet they grew and encreased, and in the Reign of her Successor tugged stoutly in the House of Commons for the Victory with the* Court Party, *as they then stiled all that stood to the Crown, and kept King* James *at Bay, and destitute of those Supplies that were necessary to preserve the Grandeur of the Crown, and the Reputation of* England; *and forced him to spend Seven Years of his Reign without calling any Parliaments; and the last he called, which was in his One and Twentieth Year, involved him in War. And the next, basely Betray'd his Son, who succeeded presently after, to the Necessity of clapping up a Dishonourable Peace for want of Means to carry on a War.*

When King James *came to the Crown, the Dissenters of* England *expected a mighty advantage by it, because* Scotland *had been always* Presbyterian *(from whence he came) during his time, and they hoped his Education might have strongly influenced him to favour them, above the Religion Established; and*

upon

upon this intuition, they procured the Conference at Hampton Court: but alaſs, they had ſo baſely and Traiterouſly uſed him in Scotland, and he was a Prince of that great Learning and Prudence, that when they deſired a kind of Presbyterie to be Setled here; He replyed, 'If you aim at a Scotch Presbyterie, it agreeth with Monarchy as God and the 'Devil; then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick 'ſhall meet, and Cenſure me and my Council. Therefore 'I reiterate my former Speech, Le Roy S' aviſera '(the King will be adviſ.d;) ſtay I pray for one Se'ven Years before you demand it, and then if you find 'me grow purſie and fat, I may perchance hearken 'unto you, for that Government will keep me in breath, 'and give me work enough. And in the next Paragraph, he tells them, 'That he had learned by the 'Example of his Mother, and their dealings with him 'in his Minority, this Maxime, NO BISHOP, 'NO KING. So they totally failed of their expected advantage, and were kept under, though with a gentle hand, in all his time.

Jan. 14. 1603.

Full. C. H. L. 10. p. 18.

But when his Son Succeeded, and in his Parliaments found how ſtrong theſe Factions were, who had in a great meaſure prevailed upon the Free-men, and Free-holders of the Nation, to ſend up thither great Numbers of good Common-wealth-men, as they then ſtiled them; that is, Factious, Ambitious, Diſloyal

Perſons, that hated the Religion and Monarchy by Law Eſtabliſhed; and when he ſaw theſe made it their buſineſs to encreaſe the neceſſities of the Crown, and then denyed juſt and neceſſary ſupplies, but upon ſuch terms as would have ruined him; and when he alſo perceived that one great deſign of theirs was to render him and his Government odious, by clamoring eternally againſt his Conduct and Miniſters of State. He then ſaw there was an abſolute neceſſity of a more effectual and vigorous Execution of the Laws againſt them.

Roger Cokes Englands improvement part. 3. p. 13.

Hereupon theſe godly men grew impatient, and one part of them in the years 1636, 37, and 38, fled over into *Holland*, and planted themſelves at *Leyden*, *Alkmare*, and other places, where they inſtructed the *Dutch* in our Woollen Manufactures of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; and I have heard (ſaith my Author who is a credible perſon) Sir *Charles Harbord* (a perſon of great Wiſdom and Inſight in Forreign as well as the Intereſt of this Nation) ſay, That if all the Biſhopricks of *England* were ſold, and given to the Nation, it would not near compenſate the loſs the Nation ſuſtained thereby. *And page 32 of the ſame diſcourſe he informs us,* That in the time of our late Wars the Dutch, by the means of theſe Manufactures, got from the *Engliſh*

Engliſh the *Eaſt-land* Trade, the Company of which heretofore was above all others the moſt flouriſhing, and by Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the Firſt was termed the Royal Company; for it ſupplied *Muſcovy*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Liſeland*, with our Woollen Manufactures, and made very advantagious Returns by Treaſure (eſpecially *Hungaria Duckets*) and the Commodities of thoſe Countries, into *England*. This Trade till King *Charles* his Reign, the *Engliſh* ſolely injoyed. About the beginning of King *Charles* his Reign, the *Dutch* began to be Interlopers rather than Traders with the *Engliſh* in it, but in the time of the Wars, by the aforeſaid means, the *Dutch* allmoſt totally excluded the *Engliſh*. *We may obſerve how much the Trade of the Nation in general ſuffered by all this and eſpecially that of* Norfolk, Suffolk, *and* Eſſex, *of which the ſaid Author gives an inſtance, pag.* 33. *and from thence we may conclude how far the Trade of the Nation hath been, and conſequently may again be, impaired by Factions, if they be encouraged ſtill amongſt us.*

I ought not to paſs over in ſilence, that my laſt quoted Author, Aſcribes this to the ſevere injunctions of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which theſe Zealous people would not indure. And I know that many have uſed this

this as an Argument againſt Perſecution, and for a Toleration, Comprehenſion, or (as the new Name is) an Union But I reply, if there were no Factions there could be no Perſecution, as they ſtile it, nor any ſuch dammage of our Trade and Commerce. Secondly, that they were not thus perſecuted till they had provoked that King to the uttermoſt by rendring all Parliaments dangerous to the Crown, and brought things into that State, that neither the Monarchy nor the Religion Eſtabliſhed could be any longer preſerved without that ſeverity. So we may ſee, if they be treated gently they grow Numerous, and endeavour to ſubvert the Government; if they be dealt ſeverely with, they over into forreign Countries and deſtroy our Trade; ſo that both waies our ruine is almoſt aſſured by them, and therefore ſhould be no more incouraged than Pyrates and the common enemies of Mankind.

But to go on: Another part of theſe people had before
1629. *Planted themſelves in* New England *in the* Weſt Indies, *where they have ſince grown Numerous and Rich, and have abundantly practiſed that ſeverity upon others who have diſſented from them, which they clamoured againſt, and called perſecution, when it was uſed with more reaſon againſt themſelves.*

The Dutch *being much exalted by the peace they had made with* Spain, *whereby they were owned and acknowledged for a free and independent State by their*

old

old Sovereign, and having acquired a vaſt Treaſure by their Trade over all the World, and by redeeming the places which were put into Queen Elizabeths *hands for ſecurity of repayment of the Expence ſhe was at to protect their feeble infant State, out of the Hands of King* James ; *having ſo cut off their former obligations of reſpect to the Crown of* England, *and laſtly being grown ſtrong in Shipping, and knowing very well upon what ill terms King* James *and King* Charles *the Martyr ſtood with their Parliaments; fell to plot the intire deſtruction of the* Engliſh *Trade and Navigation; and in Order to this, fell to endeavour the ruine of the* Engliſh *Fiſhery upon our own proper Seas. They had formerly never Fiſhed till they had begged leave of the King or of his Governour of* Scarborough-Caſtle, *this was now thought beneath the Magnificence of the* Hogan Mogans, *and therefore they refuſed it: They had formerly been limited by our Kings, both for the number of the Veſſells they ſhould Fiſh with and the time. Now they were reſolved to be their own Carvers, and in order to that, denyed the* Engliſh *the Soveraignty of the Britiſh Seas,* 'And as if all this 'had not been enough, grew nearer and nearer upon 'the Engliſh *Shores, year by year, than they did in 'preceding times, without leaving any bounds for the 'Country people and Natives to Fiſh upon their 'Princes.*

His Majeſties propriety and dominion on the Brittiſh Seas. p. 26.

Ib. pag. 29. 30. 55.

Ib. p. 6.

'Princes Coasts, and oppressed some of his Sub-
'jects with intent to continue their pretended possession;
'and had driven some of their great Vessells, through
'their Netts, to deter others by fear of the like Vio-
'lence from Fishing near them, &c. as Secretary
Pag. 58. Nanton, January 21. 1618. acquaints the Lord Ambassador Carlton: And to justify all this, they sent out Men of War with their Fishermen to maintain that by force, which they might have had of Courtesie for the asking. To prevent these disorders of the Dutch, King James Published a Proclamation in the seventh year of his Reign, to assert his Right, and exclude all Persons from Fishing upon our Seas, without particular License; but they neither valued this nor his Remonstrances by his Ambassadors, nor the like Proclamation made in the twelfth year of his Sons Reign, but went on by all the Crafts and Violences imaginable to ruine our Fishery; to subvert the Right and Soveraignty the Kings of England have ever had to the Narrow Seas. And all this only upon a presumption that those Princes would never be able to call them to an account by a War for all these Injuries.

The Reign of King *Ch.* fol. *London.* 1655. pag. 163.

And in the year 1639, they fell upon a Fleet of Spaniards in our Ports and Harbours with Canon and Fire-ships, so furiously, as made them all cut their Cables, and being 53 in Number, 23 ran on shore, and

and ſtranded in the Downs, *whereof Three were burnt, Two ſunk, and Two periſhed on the Shoar; the remainder of the Twenty three being deſerted by the* Spaniards, *who went to Land, were Manned by the* Engliſh *to ſave them from the* Dutch; *and the other Thirty Ships put to Sea, of which only Ten eſcaped; thus far for the Narrative in ſhort. And now be pleaſed to read the Opinion of the Hiſtorian upon this.*

'*Theſe Two Potent Enemies, being both* Friends *Ibid.* p. 165.
'*to* England, *the* Britiſh Seas *ought by rule of*
'*State to have been an Harbour of Retreat to ſecure*
'*the Weaker from the Stronger, not the Scene of*
'*their Hoſtile Ingagement, and had this preſumptuous*
'*Attempt of the* Hollander *met with a King, or in*
'*times of another temper, it would not it's like, have*
'*been ſo ſilently connived at, and their Victory might*
'*have coſt them the loſs of* Englands *Correſpondence,*
'*&c. beſides the King, the* Dutch *well knew was*
'*of a Genius, as not querulous, ſo if provoked very*
'*placable, and the* Diſpoſition *of his Affairs, as*
'*well as of his Mind, diſſwaded from expoſtulating*
'*the Matter with them. To that height of injuſtice and*
inſolence were the Dutch *then grown, by the Diviſions of* England, *and the ill underſtanding betwixt the King and his Subjects. This unfortunate Prince had made many brave Attempts before, for the Honour*

and Safety of the English Nation *without any good ſucceſs, for want of ſuch Effectual Supplies from his Parliaments as might enable him to go through with them; and he had taken up a generous Reſolution to encreaſe the Navy Royal to a greatneſs proportionable to the* Dutch, *and other neighbour Nations, who were now ſtriving for the Maſtery of the Seas by out-building each other. He got nothing from the Commons in Parliament that was conſiderable, but with great difficulty, and accompanied with Remonſtrances, Impeachments of the Chief Miniſters, complaints of Grievances, and lowd Clamours of pretended fears and jealouſies of Popery, Arminianiſm, Innovations in matters of Religion; and as faſt as this Prince gratified them in one thing, they ſtarted another Game, hoping at laſt to ruine this Excellent Prince by his own Conceſſions, as at length they did; for theſe ſober Proteſtants were reſolved never to leave asking, till they had brought their King to be their Equal firſt; and at laſt, under them. This procedure did in part diſcover the Deſign, and neceſſitated him to ſtretch his Prerogative to find ſome ſmall Relief for his urgent and preſſing Neceſſities; by Monopolies, Knight-mony, Loans upon Privy Seals, and at laſt Ship-money; great parts of which Moneys were employed upon the Building Ships for the encreaſe of the Royal Navy: which he did to*

that

that height, that it was ſo Invincible to any Humane Power, that though Sir William Batten *in* 1648. *carried a very Conſiderable part of it to his Now Majeſty, yet the remainder of it with a ſmall Addition beat the* Dutch *for all their many years Preparations. Yet firſt, all thoſe that ſignalized themſelves by oppoſing the King in theſe Levies moſt, were choſen into the following Parliaments, as the beſt Patriots and Common-wealth-men, and theſe again made it their buſineſs in Parliament by joyning with the Rebellious* Scots *to involve us in that accurſed War which endangered not only the ruine of our Government and Trade, but our very Being.*

In the beginning of that War, the Parliament-ſide went down, and in likelihood the King and his Party had finally prevailed, if the Scots *had not broke out again upon the ſolicitation of the* Engliſh *Parliament, without the leaſt cauſe given them by the King. And during this time, and afterwards too,* * Walker

* *Page* 12. *Sect.* 19. Of the Relations and Obſervations upon the Parliament, begun in 1640. *pag.* 143. *Sect.* 5. And in the Remonſtrance of many Thouſands in and about the City of *London*; dated *Mar.* 22. 1648. to the Army, is this Paſſage. Then ſhall thoſe faithful Perſons who hazarded all for the Parliament, and many of them lent more than their whole Eſtates, and now live in Priſon, nay ſtarve for want of it, not be put to devour Cathedrals, and ranſack the Monuments of the Dead, but be honeſtly paid with thanks and requitals; then ſhall not the Publick Faith be out pawned, and ſo little care taken to Redeem it, whilſt Millions of Treaſure have been conveyed beyond the Seas. *Pag.* 3. I ſuppoſe this was not all private Treaſures, though the loſs is the ſame to the Nation, if it were ſo.

in his Hiſtory of Presbytery *and* Independency *hath acquainted us; That many of the Parliament* Grandees, *who beſides their own Wealth which was great, had drawn in moſt of the Treaſure and Plate of the Nation, on ſpecious pretences and the Publick Faith, ſent huge ſums over to the Banks in* Holland *and the* Weſtern Plantations, *that in caſe the King ſhould finally prevail; they might have a place of Retreat, where they might enjoy the Blood and Tears of the poor deluded People in ſafety and ſecurity.*

But this was not all, during this War the Engliſh *Trade both at home and abroad was almoſt totally Ruin'd, many Thouſands of Tradeſmen were either Undone, or Killed and Deſtroyed, or forced to ſeek quieter Habitations beyond the Seas; above one half of the Nation (the* Weſt *and the* North*) were almoſt totally ruined and depopulated by the War; and the other half by exceſſive Taxes, Exciſe, Sequeſtrations, &c. by all which ways I have ſeen an Account Printed, That there was about Forty Millions of Money Collected and Spent within the ſpace of a few years by that Parliament ſide only, not one farthing of which turned to any account to the Nation. But in the interim, the wiſe* Dutch *drive on the Trade of almoſt the whole World, and only furniſhed the King with Armes and Ammunition for the Jewels of the*

Relation of the Parliament, begun 1640. p. 8. Sect. 1.

the Crown; and dealt with the Parliament for Timber, which they ſold of the Crown-Lands, Church-Lands, and the Sequeſtred Eſtates of the Gentry and Nobility; which Timber the Dutch *wiſely employed in Building Ships to ruine the prevailing ſide when the War was done, and then they did not queſtion but to be the Soveraigns of the Ocean, and of all the Trade and Commerce that is exerciſed on it; and to ſpeak the truth, they had then ſome reaſon to hope it might have happened ſo: For if* England *had once been brought under, no other State could have diſputed the point with them; and* England *was then preparing it ſelf for ruine, by giving the* Hollanders *more advantages than their Modeſty could have wiſhed for.* The laſt cited Remonſtrance to the Army. p. 4.

And the Dutch *were ſo confident, that the Succeſs would anſwer their Expectations; that they grew impatient to have Poſſeſſion of their almoſt aſſured Maſtery: and before our Internal Broyls were over, and the Nation ſetled any way, in the Year* 1652. *ſet upon our Fleet in the* Downs, *and if the Advantage of almoſt two to one, and an unexpected Aſſault, had not been over-ruled by the Providence of God, and the unparallell'd Valour of the* Engliſh, *they had certainly deſtroyed them, as they did the* Spaniſh Fleet *in the ſame place about Ten Years before; and although the* Engliſh *fortune and Cou-*

rage

rage prevailed then, and in the whole Course of that War, and brought down the Craft, Treachery and Pride of the Hollanders; *yet was the whole Glory of these Victories, in which the* Rump *boasted so much, (next Gods Mercy to these poor Nations) owing solely to the Providence of that Prince they had but a little before so basely Murdered as an Enemy to God and his People, and then stiled the Tyrant: As Mr.* Coke *hath well observed in his Preface to the fourth Treatise,* Of the Improvement of England. *To which excellent Discourses I refer my Reader. All that I shall infer from hence, is, that I hope the Nation will never run the same hazard of losing all their Foreign Trade again, by siding with factious Men against the Monarchy.*

The Rump *having beaten the* Dutch, *found a more dangerous Enemy at home, and being generally now hated by the People, were without any difficulty*
1654. *turned out by* Oliver Cromwel *their Hypocritical Servant; who to secure himself in his ill gotten Possession of the Government, made an unsetled and dishonourable Peace with the* Dutch. *Which they imployed in Building much larger and more Men of War than they had before, to prevent the Ruine of their States by another* English War; *which could not be concealed from* Oliver, *who likewise encreased the* English Fleet *with many more, and considerable*

ble Men of War: as the last Cited Author tells us.

As O. C. *lost the* Engliſh *the Advantage of their Naval Victories by that Peace he made with the* Dutch, *which left the* Engliſh *nothing but a little unprofitable Glory, and the blows they had received from the* Hollanders, *whilſt it gave them opportunity to grow rich, and prepare for another Attempt: So our Tyrant fell ſoon after into another extravagance; he had always an Enthuſiaſtick Conceit that God had raiſed him up to pull down the Whore of* Babylon, *the Man of Sin, the Antichriſtian* Pope *of* Rome; *and this led him into a War with* Spain, *believing that Prince to be the only Bullwark of the Papacy: and his Attempts upon the Iſlands in the* Weſt Indies, *and the Plate Fleets belonging to* Spain, *not having that ſucceſs he deſired by reaſon of their diſtance, or perhaps being out-witted by the* French Miniſters, *he fell in the next place (in Conjunction with* France) *upon the* Spaniards *in* Flanders; *in which War,* Dunkirk *was taken, and cunningly Surrendred to* Oliver *by the* French, *in hopes to encourage our ſilly Upſtart to go on and help them to Conquer the reſt: but two fatal miſchiefs attended this, The firſt was, that our* Spaniſh *Trade, which was one of the beſt and moſt profitable the* Engliſh *then had left, was interrupted and in danger to be totally loſt, as all the* Eaſtern *Traffick was rendred*

very

very unsecure by the Ostenders. The Second was, That the Ballance of Christendom was broken, and the French Interest brought to that height, as to over-power all the Neighbouring Princes, and in some sort, to Compel His Majesty before he was well setled after his Restitution to resel them Dunkirk. But these things were above the Politicks of our Oliver, who was a better Souldier than a Statesman.

How the Domestick Trade of England was likely to flourish in this Mans time, may be easily conjectured by any man that will but reflect on the Vast Taxes were then Arbitrarily raised without Parliaments; and the Standing Armies that were then kept on Foot, only because he durst not Disband them, who had no other Title than the Sword had given him; and when God called him in the Year, 1658. to give an account for all the Villanies he had perpetrated with so much Treachery, Perjury and Impiety; neither his Son Richard who Succeeded him, nor any of those various Governments, which within the space of Two Years followed, were able to Establish themselves; so that during that time, there was nothing but Treachery, Rapine, Confusion, and Distrust to be found in the English Nation: and it was only Gods infinite Mercy and Goodness which rescued us and our Trade from total Ruine, by the peaceable Restitution of our Now most gracious Soveraign.

When

When His Majesty returned, he brought nothing over with him but a Vast Debt, contracted in his Exile to preserve him, and his, in a mean Condition from starving; and he found nothing here at home but an empty Exchequer; a People exhausted with Twenty Years War and Misery; all his Pallaces disfurnished, his Magazines rifled, his Armory wasted, his Ammunition spent or imbezzel'd, and the remainder of the Army which had great Arrears due to them, to be Disbanded and Paid off. All these things call'd for large Supplies, and they were as Loyally and freely granted by our Parliaments, as Generously imployed by His Majesty to these uses.

But then these Good-Common-Wealth-men who had Taxed and Plundered the Nation without mercy for twenty years before, all on a suddain turned tender hearted, and begun to bemoan the good Peoples hardships in the payment of such Sums as their own Villanies and Treasons had made necessary: and not contented with this, encited the Dutch *by large Promises of Assistance to enter another War with us, which (though we prevailed) had fatal Consequences, the Plague falling in with it, and a great part of the City of* London *being Burnt at the same time, which Fire is said to have been began by some of these godly Male-Contents, (on purpose without doubt to promote Trade;) though the whole blame is now laid*

Skynneri Motuus Compositi.

Bedloes *nar. of the P. Plot. for the Burning of* London. *pag.* 14. Oats *his Nar. Artic.* 34.

laid upon the Jesuits, *who might possibly put the Fifth Monarchy-men upon it: and hath been since owned.*

I Consider, That I am Writing a Preface to a small Book, and therefore endeavour to be short; and for ought I know, may be dark: but if all this be reflected on, as it ought, it will be a wonder not that our Trade is so little, but that it is not totally Ruin'd.

But then my dear Countrymen, may not Heaven and Earth stand amazed at our Stupidity and folly, if we shall still go on stubbornly in those very ways which we have found so destructive to us: but there is a greater wonder in it yet; we stabb and wound our own Vitals (our Trade and Commerce,) and at the same time, pretend we are horribly afraid others should ruin us many years hence; we caress and cherish these very Men and Factions, that once before Impoverished us to almost Beggery, we are hard at Work to ruine that Government, by making it odious to the People, under which England *hath flourished in Wealth and Power, in Reputation and Peace at home and abroad so many Ages, and to set up one in the stead of it, which within the memory of Man, so narrowly missed of Ruining us forever. Do you think another domestick War will encrease the Wealth, or Trade, or Navigation, or Reputation of* England.

Consider your Sea-coast Towns, from Dover *to* Barwick,

Barwick, *and observe how many of them are falling down, or empty of Inhabitants, or possest by Men that are able to drive no Trades: Consider the Fishery of all sorts, consider the falls of your Rents and Farms; and when you have thought seriously of them, think once more whether the pretended fears of* Popery *and* Arbitrary Government *ought so to possess you, and to keep you intirely from reflecting on what doth more immediatly concern you, and which if but a little longer Neglected, will end if not in* Popery, *in* Beggery; *if not in* Arbitrary Government, *in* Anarchy, War, *and* Confusion.

But though Men may Consider these things as much, or as little as they please, yet I crave the Liberty to Conclude upon the whole, That whoever promotes Factions in Church or State, is an Enemy to Trade and Commerce, and that when ever the Government of this, or any other Country is indangered, the Traffick of that place will suffer proportionably; so that let them pretend what they will to the contrary, they that promote our present Disturbances are as great Enemies to the Free-men and Free-holders of the Nation, and all that are any way concerned in Trade, as they are either to the Crown or the Church.

THE *SECOND PART* OF THE ADDRESS TO THE FREE-MEN and FREE-HOLDERS OF THE NATION.

HIS Majesty had no sooner declared the Long Loyal Parliament Dissolved, and by His Royal Writ, Commanded another to be chosen, to meet the Sixth of *March* following, but the Subjects in every place became divided amongst themselves, and there being men, *not only of different*, but of opposite Interests offered to the People; the choice was rendred very difficult and uncertain, but the Opposition, Feuds and Passions of the Contending Parties was apparent and certain enough.

The Dissenters in the interim, who had with much impatience expected this day of Deliverance from this terrible Parliament, and had sought the Dissolution of it so many Years, by all those Arts I have described in the

the former Part now began to lift up their heads, expecting to have another tugg for the Day, and having before wrought upon the meaneſt but moſt Numerous part of the *Free-men* and *Free-holders*, and the weakeſt of the Gentry, by jading their Ears with tedious canting Diſcourſes againſt Humane Inſtitutions, Perſecuting Gods People, and Arbitrary Government; and now of late, with Tragical Repreſentations of the Popiſh Plot, Maſſacres, Popery, and Superſtition; flew from their ſullen retirements, and Riding Night and Day about the Villages, and trudging about the Corporations, incited thoſe they found willing, and perſwaded, intreated, and ſometimes hired thoſe they found leſs diſpoſed to joyn with them, and by the choice of a ſober Proteſtant Parliament, (as they pretended) to deliver the Nation from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, which were good Words, but had a Knaviſh ſignification in their Senſe, and if any Man ſmelt it out, and told them truly, they were neither for *Popery* nor *Arbitrary Government*, nor yet for *Puritaniſm* and a *Common-wealth*; they ran him down with noiſe, or traduced him behind his back to their Neighbours as a *Papiſt* in Maſquerade, and a Man of *Arbitrary Principles*.

But if a Man had but chanced to drop a Word by way of queſtioning the Truth of one Tittle the many Informers had given out concerning the *Plot*, or theſe Zealots had raiſed by way of Conſequence, preſently they flew in his face, and villified him as a defamer of the Kings Evidence, a concealer of the *Plot*; and could hardly forbear ſaying, He was a Party to it, and one of the Conſpirators in it. As if we had not only been bound to ſubmit our Faith and Reaſon as intirely to Mr. *Oats*'s Relation in every *Punctilio*, as to the Evangeliſts upon which he Swore it; but alſo to what

what Inferences a Faction ſhould draw from it. From hence they proceeded to inſinuate into the Populace, That thoſe Loyal Gentlemen who had been Members of the late long Loyal Parliament, who were then call'd the *Court Party*, had joyn'd with the Court, to hinder the Diſcovery of the *Plot*, and promote the Deſignes of the *Papiſts* upon us: And although there was not one ſyllable of Truth in this, yet they aſſerted it with that confidence, and added ſo many proteſtations, often interrupting their oppoſites with ſuch queſtions as theſe, What, you are for *Popery*? you are willing to have all your Throats Cut? and the like, that they perſwaded too great a Number to joyn with them in the Excluſion of thoſe Gentlemen.

In the next place, fearing the greateſt hindrance from the conformable Clergy and the Biſhops, they repreſented them amongſt their Confidents as nothing better than the *Papiſts*; and amongſt the reſt, as Men that had a mighty kindneſs for *Popery* in their hearts, (where theſe prying people ſpied it) though they durſt not diſcover it for the preſent, and with great Aſſurance ſaid, that they would certainly all turn *Papiſts* if the *Plot* went on; though Mr. *Oates* had aſſured them their Places were diſpoſed of to others before hand, and they muſt expect nothing but beggery, aſſaſſination, and Ruine: But yet the people who never conſider any thing, believe them in this too.

In the next place, they were to deal with the Gentry and Magiſtrates, and here the task was harder, for theſe were never to be wrought over generally to them; but amongſt them, ſome were their friends of old, others had come half way over to gain the Reputation of Moderate Men; others had been diſguſted by the Government; and ſome few had Relations amongſt the Diſſenters, or Children, and Brothers Apprentices,

Apprentices, Journey-men, and Factors to them, and these Interests prevail'd upon to joyn with them; the rest they blasted what they could by the same Arts they did the Clergy, averring they were *Papists*, or favourers of *Papists* and *Popery*; especially, if they had any relations of that Religion; or had shewed the least kindness to their *Popish* Neighbours in the first Discovery of the Plot, or had had any acquaintance with them before the Plot.

And having by all these multiply'd Slanders, got over a very considerable part of the meaner people, and yet fearing the party might be too weak, they made fraudulent Conveyances for Twenty four hours of their Freehold-Lands and Tenements to their Neighbours, by this means creating Twenty Mushrom Voters, sometimes out of Forty pounds a year, and some that were less scrupulous took the Gifts by word of Mouth, without Livery or Seizin, Lease or Release; and some gave Twelve pence in part of payment for those Lands and Tenements they never meant, nor were ever able to Purchase further, and so became qualified to give their Votes as they thought; and others gave their Children that were Infants part of their Estates with them, and brought them along for company; and in the interim, the Wealthy sort of Men hired Horses, or gave Mony to the more Needy to give their Votes for the precious Men that were to keep out *Popery*.

The Conventicle Teachers rallied up their Flocks, all but the Aprons, and they were unwillingly enough left at home; The old Committee Men, Sequestrators; Army Officers, and Soldiers of the last Rebellion; who had kept holes ever since His Majesties Return for Grief, Confusion, and Fear, now all took the Field again to Vote too: and with these joyned all those unwilling

willing Conformists whether Clergy or Layety who have complyed with the Religion Established, with purpose to ruine it as soon as it is possible, and in the interim, great gain is godliness with them: and does any man believe all these Forces were thus Mustered up for the Service of His Majesty, the Safety of the Monarchy, and the preservation of the Religion and Government Establish'd?

The persons they recommended to the people to be chosen again, were first, all those Gentlemen, who calling themselves the *Country Party* in the former Parliament had appeared most Zealously against the Queen, his Royal Highness, and the Ministers of State: to these they added as many as they could of the Reliques of the old Rebellion, or their Children, and made up the Number out of the moderate and discontented Gentlemen, Burgesses, and Trades-men, taking in here and there an honest Gentleman in hopes to win him to their side by this kindness; and sometimes this pittiful Project took.

For my part, I think nothing could more confirm the Testimony of Mr. *Oats* who informs us, 'That the 'Catholick Religion was to be brought in the same 'way that they had used for the Destruction of the Fa- 'ther of the King, and as that could not be effected till 'much Blood was spilt on BOTH SIDES, so 'this must be effected by effusion of Blood, and this 'he Expounds was to be done by weakning and divi- 'ding the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, 'by Civil Wars and Rebellions, as in His (Majesties) 'Fathers time, to make way for the *French* to Seize 'these Kingdoms, and totally to Ruine their Infantry 'and Naval Force: These are Mr. *Oats* his Words, and whoever had seen the persons Must'red up, about the chooſing this Parliament, would have thought, that

Act. 22.

Pag. 64.

Forty One had been returned again, and that the Jeſuits under the ſhape of Nonconformiſt Miniſters had been turning the *Plot* that way, now God had defeated the cloſe one.

But though all this Care was taken, the Diſſenters did not carry the Elections every where, nor almoſt any where without great Reſiſtance. For on the other ſide, the Gentry appeared themſelves, and brought in their Tenants and Dependences; and many of the Yeomanry and Free-holders were Zealous for the Church and Government, and in Corporations, the Magiſtrates and Free-men, had not forgot the old tricks of the Diſſenters; and were reſolved not to be ruin'd twice by the ſame Arts, ſo that the two Parties were almoſt equal there, and in the Counties the Gentry were certainly the ſtronger ſide, if Perjury had not been employed againſt them; and in ſome places they prevailed againſt that too, but not ſo as to make an equal Party in the Houſe.

The Perſons that ſtood on this ſide, were Men of Undoubted Loyalty to the King, hearty lovers of the Religion Eſtabliſhed, and great Enemies to Puritaniſm, Faction, and Rebellion; and for theſe good qualities were ſtiled by the contrary Party-men of *Arbitrary Principles*, and favourers of *Popery*: ſome of theſe had been Members of the Laſt Parliament, and been of that they call the *Court Party*, who had been guilty of Setling the Monarchy, and Suppreſſing the Rebellion, and the Nurſeries of it the Conventicles; and others were taken in to fill up the vacancies, of or very nearly of the ſame Principles.

The Elections being thus made, the Parliament met the day appointed, which was Thurſday the ſixth of *March*, 1678. and my buſineſs is to wait upon them, and ſee how matters went in the Lower Houſe eſpecially;

cially; and as an Introduction I will take notice of His Majesty's Speech in the first place; part of which was as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I Meet you here with the most earnest desire that man 'can have to Unite the Minds of all my Subjects, 'both to me, and to one another; and I resolve it shall 'be your faults, if the Success be not suitable to my 'desires, I have done many great things already, in 'order to that end; as the Exclusion of the Popish 'Lords from their Seats in Parliament; the Execution 'of several men, both upon the Score of the *Plot*, and 'of the Murder of Sir *Edmonberry Godfrey*, and it is 'apparent that I have not been idle in prosecuting the 'discovery of both, as much further as hath been 'possible in so short a time.

'I have disbanded as much of the Army as I could 'get Mony to do, and I am ready to disband the rest, 'so soon as you shall reimburse the Mony they have cost 'me, and will inable me to pay off the remainder: 'And above all I have Commanded my Brother to 'absent himself from me, because I would not leave 'the Malicious Men room to say, I had not removed 'all causes which could be pretended to influence me 'towards Popish Counsels.

'Besides that end of Union which I am at, (and 'which I wish could be extended to Protestants abroad 'as well as at home) I propose by this last great step 'I have made, to discern whether Protestant Religion, 'and the Peace of the Kingdom be as truly aimed at 'by others, as they are really intended by me, for if 'they be, you will imploy your time upon the great 'concerns of the Nation, and not be drawn to promote 'private animosities under pretences of the publique;

'your Proceedings will be calm and peaceable, in 'order to those good ends I have recommended to you, 'and you will curb the motions of any unruly Spirits 'which would endeavour to disturb them. I hope 'there will be none such amongst you, because there 'can be no man that must not see how fatal differences 'amongst our selves are like to be at this time both at 'home or abroad.

'I shall not cease my endeavours, dayly to find out 'what more I can both of the *Plot*, and Murder of Sir '*Edmondberry Godfrey*, and shall desire the Assistance 'of both my Houses in that work.

'I have not been wanting in giving orders for 'putting all the present Laws in Execution against 'Papists, and I am ready to joyn in the making 'such further Laws as may be necessary for securing of 'the Kingdom against Popery.

And after a short discourse of supply's he goes on.

'I will conclude as I begun, with my earnest de-'sires to have this, a Healing Parliament, and I do 'give you this Assurance, that I will with my 'life defend both the Protestant Religion and the 'Laws of this Kingdom, and I do expect from you 'to be defended from the Calumny as well as Danger 'of those worst of men, who endeavour to render me 'and my Government odious to my people.

By which last passage I believe his Majesty reflected upon the Dissenters and Common wealth Party, who as they were more believed, so they had been more busie in traducing him, and that with a more Mischievous Malice and effect, than the worst Jesuits, during this short time, betwixt the Dissolution of the last and the Election of this present Parliament, and therefore his Majesty had reason to tell the Parliament he expected

to

to be defended by them from the Calumny, (of the Diſſenters) as well as from the danger of the Papiſts, (both which are) the worſt of men, as who did endeavour to render him and his Government Odious to his people.

The Lord Chancellor's Speech was for the moſt part but an enlargement upon his Majeſtie's, as it uſes to be; and therefore I ſhall take notice of ſome paſſages only in it.

'He adviſed them not to overdo their buſineſs, and 'by being too far tranſported with the fears of Popery, 'neglect the opportunities they then had of making 'ſober and laſting proviſions againſt it.

'He told them it was a Cuſtom of the Jeſuits, firſt 'to Murder the fame of Princes, and then their per-'ſons, firſt ſlandering them to their people, as if they 'favoured Papiſts, and then to aſſaſſinate them for 'being too Zealous Proteſtants.

'He repreſented what a joy it would be to them, 'to ſee us whom they could not deſtroy by the con-'ſpiracy, Ruining our ſelves after the diſcovery, by 'incurable jealouſies and diſturbing the Govern-'ment.

'And that further care might be taken of Regula-'ting the Preſs, from whence there daily ſtole forth 'Popiſh *Catechiſms*, *Pſalters*, and Books of Contro-'verſie, and Seditious and Schiſmatical Libells 'too.

We ſhall now ſee how theſe Counſells were purſued by the Parliament.

The firſt thing the Houſe of Commons did, was to chooſe *Edward Seymour*, Eſquire, their former Speaker, their Speaker again. But the next day the King diſliking the choice, and Commanding them to make a new one, they returned and Adjourned till *Saturday* Morning.

Morning. But not agreeing then, they desired a further time; which was granted till *Tuesday* following: The King telling the Messengers, *that* as he would not have his Prerogative intrencht upon, *so* he would not do any thing against the Priviledges of the House.

But then instead of Presenting a new Speaker, they Presented a Representation, Claiming it as a Right to have that Speaker they chose accepted, if he were not excused for some Corporal Disease, which hath always (heretofore) been alleadged either by themselves or some others, in their behalf in full Parliament, as they said.

But his Majesty not admitting this neither, they Adjourned till *Wednesday*, and drew up another Address to have the former better considered, and to this his Majesty replied he would send them an answer the next day. And accordingly,

On *Thursday* he sent for them up to the House of Lords, and Prorogued them for one day, and on *Saturday* morning sent for them again, and by the Lord Chancellor Commanded them to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker, and Present him on *Munday* Morning; which they accordingly did; and then they chose Mr. *Sergeant Gregory*, of whom his Majesty approved on the *Monday* following.

It was Ominous thus to stumble at the Threshold; and therefore there is no great wonder if after this, much of his Majesties and the Lord Chancellors good Counsell relating to calmness in the Management of their Affairs was forgotten.

Tuesday, *Wednesday*, and a great part of *Thursday* the 20*th* day of *March*, being spent in the preliminaries, and in receiving and reading the shoal of Petitions, concerning undue Elections and Returns, on the Evening

of

of the laſt day, the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords to put them in mind of the Impeachments of High Treaſon againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, in the names of the Commons of *England*, and to deſire he might be Committed to ſafe Cuſtody.

And referred it to the Committee of Secrecy to draw up further Articles againſt him. By which it appeared that they were reſolved to begin where the former Parliament ended; ſo that men eaſily conjectured what would follow. And ſome there were that ſuggeſted, as if his place was his greateſt Crime, and that the ruin of a Miniſter of State in order to fright the reſt of the Miniſters was more ſought, than the Puniſhment of any Traytor whether Popiſh or Proteſtant.

In the week following it appearing that the Earl of *Danby* had a pardon by his Majeſties mentioning of it in the Houſe of Lords. And a Committee being appointed to ſearch it out, returned on *Monday* the 24*th* of *March*, that it had not been Regularly ſued out, but was Sealed in the King's preſence by his expreſs Command. Upon which the Commons ſent up a Meſſage to the Lords to demand Juſtice againſt him, and ordered an Addreſs to his Majeſty to repreſent the dangerous Conſequences of granting Pardons to any perſons that lie under an Impeachment of the Commons of *England*.

And the ſame day the Lords ſent word to the Commons that they had ordered him to be taken into Cuſtody.

On *Tueſday* the 25*th* of *March*, the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, that the Earl of *Danby* was not to be found, upon which the Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in to Summon him by a certain day, or in default thereof to Attaint him. 1679.

Mr.

Mr. *Edward Sacvile* a Member of the Houſe of Commons, being accuſed by Mr. *Oats*, to have called the truth of the Plot and Murder of Sir *Edmonberry Godfrey* in queſtion was ordered to be committed to the Tower, Expelled the Houſe, and an Addreſs made to his Majeſty for the removing him from all Publick Imployments and Truſts. This was a ſure way to have the Plot believed.

On *Wedneſday* there having before been a Complaint brought againſt one *Hills* and *Edwin*, for Printing a Pamphlet intituled, A Letter from a Jeſuite at *Paris* to his Correpondent in *London:* Shewing the moſt effectual way to ruin the Government and the Proteſtant Religion; was to promote the Diſſenters Intereſt, and to chuſe factious men into the Houſe of Commons. And it appearing, that Dr. *John Nalſon* was the Author of it, there being no Law to puniſh this offence, the ſaid Doctor was ordered to be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, to inform the Houſe touching the ſaid Pamphlet.

The ſame day a Bill was ſent down from the Lords, Intituled, an Act for the better diſcovery and ſpeedy Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants. Which had been ſent down in the former Seſſion of Parliament time enough to have been paſſed, but was neglected, which was read the day following.

On *Thurſday* the 27*th* of *March*, the Lords ſent down a Bill for the Baniſhing and Diſabling the Earl of *Danby* (which his Majeſty had profered to do) and deſired the Concurrence of the Houſe of Commons, which the Commons read and rejected that day.

But notwithſtanding the Commons went on with the Bill of Attainder againſt him, and ordered a Clauſe to be added for the diſcovery of all truſts relating to him, and that he ſhould be made incapable of receiving

receiving pardon but by Act of Parliament, wherein he ſhall be particularly Named.

The ſame day the Lords ſent down a Bill to diſinable any perſon from Sitting in any of the Houſes of Convocation, till he hath taken the Oaths, and made and ſubſcribed the Declaration therein contained.

On *Friday*, a Bill was read for better ſecuring the liberty of the Subjects.

Sir *Chriſtopher Calthrop* Knight, who was returned one of the Knights of the Shire for *Norfolk*, being then ſick of the *Small-pox*, deſired that the Caſe in difference betwixt him and Sir *John Hobard* Baronet, which was to be heard on *Friday* next, might be delayed, which was denyed.

Note, That *Calthrop* was of the Court-party, and *Hobard* of the Country-party.

But to look a little back: On *Monday* the 25*th* of *March*, the Houſe of Lords ſent to examin the five Lords in the Tower, concerning a *French* Book about the Plot, the Author of which had it ſeems endeavoured to invalidate Mr. *Oats* his teſtimony, but they would not own they knew the Author.

The ſame day the Vote mentioned in the former Part, of the reality of the Popiſh Plot, which had been renewed by the Commons, and ſent up to the Lords for their concurrence, was Voted by the Lords, and ordered to be inſerted in the firſt leaf of the Office, to be publickly uſed on the day * appointed by his Majeſty for ſolemn Faſting and Humiliation, at the requeſt of both Houſes.

* 11 of April.

On *Saturday* the 29*th*, the Lords agreed to have a Bill brought in to expell out of the Inns of Court, *Doctors Commons*, the College of Phyſicians, and Heralds office, all ſuch perſons as ſhall not give teſti-

of their being Proteſtants, by going to Church, and by taking the Sacrament, and ſuch Oaths, Teſts, and Declarations as are appointed by any Law, for the diſtinguiſhing Proteſtants from Papiſts, and that none ſhall hereafter be Admitted into any of the ſaid Societies, that ſhall not do the ſame.

And that an Addreſs ſhould be made to his Majeſty, that all perſons who bring up, or ſuffer their Children to be bred up, in the Popiſh Religion, may by his Majeſties order be put out of all publick Employments, civil, and military, whereof they are now poſſeſſed; AND that for the future no perſon may be put into or continued in any employment, civil or military, who ſhall knowingly Marry a Papiſt. Theſe laſt particulars are moſt worthy to be paſſed into an Act of Parliament.

On *Tueſday* the firſt of *April*, the Commons finiſhed the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of *Danby*, and ſent it up to the Lords.

After which they paſſed this Vote.

Reſolved, *That the continuing of any ſtanding Forces in this Nation, other than the Militia, is illegal and a great Grievance and Vexation to the people.*

This is the firſt Vote that was ever made againſt his Majeſties Guards ſince his return, tho there have been Parliaments ſitting ever ſince.

On *Thurſday* the 3*d* of *April* the Articles of Impeachment againſt *William* Earl of *Powys*, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, *William* Lord *Petre*, and *John* Lord *Bellaſyſe*, were brought into the Houſe of Commons, and received.

And a Bill about the Convocation ſent down by the Lords, and another to Regulate the Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament, were read the firſt time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Friday

Friday the 4*th* of *April*, An Act for the better diſcovery and more ſpeedy Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, ſent down from the Lords, was read the ſecond time, and Committed to a Committee, who were alſo to bring in a Clauſe to prevent any of the Royal Family from matching with Popiſh Recuſants.

Was not this that tacking of things of a different Nature together, which his Majeſty had reſolved againſt, as he told the Houſes in theſe words about a year before?

'One thing more I have to add, and that is, to let 'you know, that I will never more ſuffer the courſe 'and method of paſſing Laws to be changed; and that 'if ſeveral matters ſhall ever again be tacked together 'in one Bill, that Bill ſhall certainly be loſt, let the 'importance of it be never ſo great.

His Majeſties Speech the 23*of* May, 1678.

But it was reſolved it ſeems now to try whether he would be as good as his word, and if he were, then the clamour ſhould be, that he was againſt the ſpeedy conviction of Popiſh recuſants.

Beſides this was no ſuch trivial thing but that it might have deſerved a diſtinct Bill.

The ſame day the Bill againſt the Earl of *Danby* being delivered back by the Lords at a Conference with ſome Amendments, the Commons referr'd the conſideration of the Amendments to be conſidered the next day, and ordered an Addreſs to be drawn up, for a Proclemation for the Apprehending the ſaid Earl, with the uſual penalties upon ſuch as conceal him, and that he ſhould not be permitted to reſide with in any of his Majeſties places of *White-Hall*, *Somerſet Houſe*, and St. *James's*.

On *Saturday* the Bill for Regulating Elections was read the ſecond time, and Committed to a Committee, with liberty to divide the Bill as they ſee cauſe.

5 *of* April.

On *Monday* the 7*th* of *April* his Majesty by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, acquainted the House of Commons, that Mr. *Reading* had acquainted him by a letter directed to one Mr. *Chiffinch*, that he had matters of great importance concerning the Prisoners in the Tower, and the present Plot; but that his Majesty would not meddle with any Prisoners Committed by this House, and that he would (if the House thought fit) not only permit him but lay his Commands on him frankly and freely to impart whatsoever he knew of that affair to the House of Commons, or the Committee of Secrecy appointed by them. Which so pleased the Commons, that they ordered the humble thanks of the House to be returned to his Majesty; So far was he from concealing any thing relating to the Plot, as he hath been basely and falsely calumniated.

This day the Commons sent up the Articles against the five Lords in the Tower, into the House of Lords.

☞ The same day it was ordered that a Bill should be brought in for Annexing *Tangier* to the Imperial Crown of *England*, upon a report that it was to be sold to the *French*.

I should not have taken notice of this Vote, but that I shall have occasion to make further use of it hereafter.

☞ The Ninth day of *April* the House further Voted, that those who did advise his Majesty to part with *Tangier* to any Foreign Prince or State, or were instrumental therein, ought to be Accounted Enemies to the King and Kingdom.

On *Tuesday* the eighth of *April*, the Bill relating to the Convocation was read, and referr'd to a Committee.

And then they fell to debate the Reasons against the Amendments of the Lords to the Bill against the

E. of *D.* which chiefly ſtood upon this point, that the Bill was by them changed from a Bill of Attainder to a Bill of Baniſhment, which the Commons could not conſent to. 1. Becauſe 'twas not the legal puniſhment of Treaſon. 2. That he might make uſe of the remiſſion as an Argument of their diſtruſt of their proofs againſt him. 3. That it would encourage others to withdraw themſelves as he had. See the Reaſons at large in the Printed *Journal.*

The *Habeas Corpus* Bill was read the third time, and paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords.

The ſame day was a conference betwixt the Lords and Commons about the E. of *D.* Bill, wherein the Lords prayed a Mitigation of the ſaid Bill. Which was referred by the Commons to be conſidered the next day.

When their deſire was denyed, and Reaſons ordered to be drawn up againſt it. *April* 9.

The next day there was two ſeveral Conferences about this Bill. But no report of either of them entered that day in the Journalls of the Houſe of Commons, but they are entered on *Saturday* the 12*th.* of *April.* And it appears that the Commons reſolved then to ſtand to the Bill without the Amendments.

In the Houſe of Lords on *Saturday* the 5*th* of *April*, the Lord Biſhop of *Ely* complained that one Mr. *Sidway* had put an information againſt himſelf and ſome others of the Lord Biſhops that was very derogatory to them; and thereupon the Houſe commanded the buſineſs to be brought before them, and ſtopt the proceedings of their Committee of Secrecy in that and all other things relating to any Member of their Houſe.

Where the buſineſs being heard on the *Monday* following, the ſaid *John Sidway* was Committed to the

the Priſon of the *Gatehouſe*, for bringing a frivolous and untrue accuſation againſt the Lord Biſhop of *Ely* and other Biſhops, though ſeveral Lords diſſented.

So the Biſhops were quitted that time with Honour, as I wiſh they always may be, and that their enemies may meet with that ſhame and confuſion they deſerve, who through their ſides ſtrike at the Lords Anointed, and endeavour to ruine both the Church and State, by changing the Government from a Monarchy to a Common-wealth, as experience taught us once before, when the Crown ſoon followed the Miter, and the Temporal Lords the Biſhops.

On *Wedneſday* four of the five Lords in the Tower were brought to the Houſe of Lords, and heard the Articles read againſt them, and had Copies of them, and were aſſigned their Counſel for matter of Law, but not for matter of Fact, and had time to anſwer till the 15*th* Inſtant. But the Lord *Bellaſys* not being able to appear, by reaſon he was lame of the *Gout*, was excuſed, and had a Copy of the Articles ſent him.

On *Monday* the 14*th* of *April*, at a conference, the Lords conſented to paſs the Bill againſt the Earl of *Danby* without any amendment.

Wedneſday the 16*th* of *April*, A Bill for ſecuring the King and Kingdom againſt the growh and Danger of Popery, was read the ſecond time and commttied to a Committee.

The ſame day a Meſſage was brought from the Lords, that the E. of *D.* had rendered himſelf and was ſent to the Tower.

And by another Meſſage word was ſent, that the four Lords had Appeared, had ſent in their Anſwers to the Articles upon which they had been proceeded againſt, which Anſwers they ſent down to the Commons, being the Originalls, and the Lords deſired the

return

return of them with all convenient ſpeed, that they might conſider of them.

And then the Commons Voted his Majeſty a ſupply for the Disbanding the reſt of the Forces not disbanded by the former Act. To be levied by a Land Tax in ſix Months. By which all Forces raiſed or brought over from Foreign parts ſince the 29*th* of *September*, 1677. were to be disbanded. The Commiſſion Officers being to be paid only to the firſt of this *April*.

The next day a debate ariſing, whether the Mony for Disbanding the Army ſhould be paid into the Exchequer? it was carried in the Affirmative by 60 Voices. Thurſday *the* 17 *of* April.

A Committee of Secrecy was appointed to prepare and draw up evidence againſt the E. of *Danby*, and alſo further Articles, as they ſhould ſee cauſe.

On *Friday* the 25*th* of *April*, a Bill for prevention of raiſing Mony upon the Subjects but by Act of Parliament was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time.

A Bill for exporting Cloth to *Turkie* was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read again.

The ſame day the E. of *D.* and *John* Lord *Bellaſys* appeared at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and put in their ſeveral Anſwers, which were ſent down to the Commons, with deſire they might be returned with all convenient ſpeed.

On *Saturday* it was reſolved in the Houſe of Commons, that they would the *Friday* following take into conſideration how to make the law for prohibiting the importation of *French* Commodities more effectual. 26 *of* April.

William Viſcount *Stafford*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and *William* Earl of *Powis*, Appeared this day at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and retracted their former Plea's and put in their Anſwers, which were

were by a Meſſage ſent down to the Commons, which were read, and referred to the Committee of Secrecy belonging to the ſaid Houſe.

This day the Houſe of Commons reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

That this Houſe will ſit to morrow, to conſider of the beſt means to ſecure and preſerve the Kings perſon, and alſo the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the Attempts of the Papiſts, both in the Reign of his Majeſty and his Succeſſors.

And accordingly they did ſit, and began the day very inauſpiciouſly with reading an Addreſs to his Majeſty for the Execution of *Pickering*, who as they ſaid had been imployed by ſome of the Conſpirators, to execute their Execrable deſign of Murdering his Majeſty, and upon his Tryal was found guilty thereof; as alſo of divers Prieſts and Jeſuits, who ſtood then Condemned by his Majeſties Judges at the *Old-Bayley*; and in ſeveral of the Circuits. Upon which Offenders they humbly deſired *immediate Execution* might be done, to the terror of all ſuch wicked perſons, who by their daily Traiterous practiſes do juſtify the prudence of their Anceſtors in making ſuch Laws, and manifeſt the neceſſity of putting them in Execution. And though there is nothing to be ſaid for the men, yet I wiſh they had not made this ſevere motion on a Lord's day, it being none of thoſe works of *Charity* and *Mercy*, no nor *neceſſity* neither, which are commendable on that day, and this might as well have been done on any other day.

29. *Car. Cap.* 7.

Then they proceeded to the work appointed, and Voted in the firſt place, *That a Bill be brought in upon the debate of the Houſe, to Baniſh all* Papiſts *or* reputed Papiſts *from* London *and* Weſtminſter *and twenty Miles of the ſame for* Six Months, *and to confine all thoſe that live above twenty Miles from* London *within five Miles of their*

their own Habitations under penalties, and referred it to a Committee to draw up the ſame. And then,

Secondly, Reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente,*

That the Duke of York *being a* Papiſt, *and the hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, have given the greateſt countenance and encouragement to the preſent Conſpirators and deſigns of the* Papiſts, *againſt the King and the* Proteſtant *Religion.*

Reſolved, *That the concurrence of the Lords be deſired to this Vote.*

Ordered, *that the Committee of Secrecy draw up a Narative of all ſuch matters as concern the D. of* Y. *reluting to the preſent Plot, contained in ſuch Papers as they have in their hands, and preſent the ſame to the Houſe on* Wedneſday *next.* And then they adjourned the debate till *Monday* following.

The next day being *Monday* the 28*th* of *March*, the Houſe attended his Majeſty with the ſaid Addreſs, for the Executing *Pickering*, &c. To which his Majeſty reply'd.

Gentlemen,

'I Have always been tender in matters of blood, 'which my Subjects have no reaſon to take exception at, but this is a matter of great weight, I ſhall 'therefore conſider of it and return you an anſwer.

So little was this mercifull Prince exaſperated by all the practiſes againſt him.

On *Wedneſday* the 30*th* of *April*, his Majeſty ſent for the Commons up to the Lords Houſe, and made this Speech to the two Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'THe Season of the Year advancing so fast, I 'thought it necessary to put you in mind of 'three particulars:

'1. Prosecuting the Plot,

'2. Disbanding the Army,

'3. Providing a Fleet for our common security.

'And to shew you, that whilst you are doing your 'parts, my thoughts have not been misimployed; but 'that it is my constant care to do every thing that may 'preserve your Religion, and secure it for the future in 'all events.

'I have commanded my Lord Chancellor to menti-'on several particulars, which I hope will be an 'evidence that in all things that concern the Publick 'security, I shall not follow your zeal but lead it.

The Lord Chancellor spoke thus,

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons.

'THat Royal care which his Majesty hath taken 'for the general quiet, and satisfaction of all his Subjects, is now more evident by these new and 'fresh instances of it, which I have in command to 'open to you.

'His Majesty hath considered with himself, that it is 'not enough that your Religion and Liberty is secure 'during his own Reign, but he thinks he owes it to 'his people to do all that in him lies, that these 'blessings may be transmitted to your posterity, and 'so well secured to them, that no succession in after 'Ages may be able to work the least alteration.

'And

'And therefore his Majesty, who hath often said in 'this place that he is ready to consent to any Laws 'of this kind, so that the same extend not to alter the 'descent of the Crown in the Right Line, nor to defeat 'the Succession, hath now commanded this to be 'further explained.

'And to the end it may never be in the power of 'any *Papist*, if the Crown descend upon him, to make 'any change either in Church or State, I am com-'manded to tell you, that his Majesty is willing that 'provision may be made, first to distinguish a Papist 'from a Protestant Successor; then to limit and cir-'cumscribe the Authority of a Popish Successor in these 'cases following, that he may be disabled to do any 'harm; first in reference to the Church, his Majestie; 'is content that care may be taken, that all Ecclesiasti-'cal and spiritual Benefices and promotions in the 'Gift of the Crown, may be conferred in such a 'manner, that we may be sure the Incumbents shall 'always be of the most Pious and learned Protestants: 'And that no Popish Successor (while he continues so) 'may have any power to controul such preferments.

'In reference to the State and civil part of the 'Government, as it is already provided that no Papist 'can sit in either House of Parliament, so the King 'is pleased, that it be provided too, that there may 'never want a Parliament when the King shall happen 'to dy: But that the Parliament then in being, may 'continue indissolvable for a compleat time, or if there 'be no Parliament then in being, then that the last 'Parliament, which was in being before that time, may 'reassemble, and sit a competent time, without any 'new Summons or Elections.

'And as no Papist can by Law hold any place of trust, 'so the King is content, that it may be further provi-'ded, that no Lords or other of the Privy Council, no 'Judges of the common Law, nor in Chancery, shall 'at any time during the Reign of any Popish Successor, 'be put in, or displaced, but by the Authority of 'Parliament.

'And that care also be taken that none but sincere 'Protestants may be Justices of the Peace.

'In reference to the Military part, the King is willing 'that no Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenant, nor 'no Officer in the Navy (during the Reign of any 'Popish Successor) be put out or removed but either 'by Authority of Parliament, or of such persons as 'the Parliament shall intrust with such Authority.

''Tis hard to invent another restraint to be put upon 'a Popish Successor, considering how much the 'Revenue of the Successor will depend upon consent 'of Parliament, and how impossible it is to raise 'mony without such consent. But yet if any thing 'else can occur to the Wisdom of the Parliament, 'which may further secure Religion and liberty against 'a Popish Successor, without defeating the Right of 'Succession it self, his Majesty will most readily consent 'to it.

'Thus watchful is the King for all your safety, 'and if he could think of any thing else that you 'do either want or wish, to make you happy, 'he would make it his business to effect it for you,

'God Almighty long continue this blessed Union 'between the King and his Parliament and people.

The House of Commons returning, resolved to Adjourn the *consideration* of his Majesties Speech till the next *Monday* Morning.

And

And now let any man but ſeriouſly conſider the Condeſcention of theſe propoſals, and that they were frankly and freely offered, before the Houſe of Commons had obliged themſelves in point of Honour, to ſtand to any Vote of *Excluſion*, (for that was not then made) and he muſt then be amazed to ſee to what extremities matters have proceeded, during *that*, and the *two laſt* Parliaments.

But who can brook the impudence of thoſe men, who have notwithſtanding this, by Tales and Pamphlets endeavoured to repreſent his ſacred Majeſty to his people as a favourer of Papiſts and Popery.

Some men may poſſibly ſay, that all this will not infallibly ſecure us againſt Popery, and I ſay nothing can make any thing in this lower world ſteady and unalterable, but it is more likely to do it than the *excluſion Bill*, becauſe it diſarms a Popiſh Succeſſor of the temptation and opportunity of enſlaving us by force, where as the other puts the Sword into his hand, and compells him to try his fortune for the whole, the event of which is much more uncertain than ſome pretend, who truſting now to force and number, will in likelyhood find themſelves diſappointed by men, and puniſhed by God for their diſtruſt of his providence; and reliance on the Arm of Fleſh, if not ruined by their over great confidence in the number of their party, which often have deceived men in ſuch occaſions. But this it not the place of theſe conſiderations, but that they broke looſe here againſt my will.

On *Thurſday* the Commons gave leave to bring in a Bill, that when any Member of their Houſe is preferred to any Office or place of profit, a new Writ ſhould immediately iſſue out, for Electing of a Member to ſerve in his ſtead: This was to keep the party to- 1. *of* May.

gether,

Seaſonable Addreſs to both Houſes, p. 10. gether, and to prevent the Miniſters from bying off any of them by preferment, and it is to be wiſhed it had paſſed, for that would have leſſened their Numbers, and have taken off all thoſe that hoped to riſe by oppoſition to the *Court*, as they call it, but indeed to the *King* and the *Monarchy*: In the interim it may be a caution to the Country, that they take not all theſe Gentlemen to be what they pretend to be, for that apparently ſome of them were driving a Market for Preferments, how much ſoever they had clamoured their predeceſſors on that account.

This day alſo Dr. *John Nalſon*, who had been a long time Impriſoned and put to vaſt charge for Writing the *Letter of Advice from a Jeſuite in* Paris *to his correſpondent in* London, was diſcharged without aſſigning any reaſon or Law for this way of proceeding againſt him, which was never yet uſed againſt any of the Writers of the moſt virulent Libells, againſt the Government, and Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, and they Voted alſo, *that an Addreſs ſhould be made to his Majeſty, by ſuch Members of their Houſe as were of his Majeſties Privy Counſel, to deſire his Majeſty to Command the Lord Chancellor to put him out of the Commiſſion of the Peace.* Becauſe it ſeems his Impriſonment was not puniſhment enough for ſo great an offence as this: And the Writing ſeveral other books to revive the memory of 1641. as one of the Members expreſſed it, in the following Parliament; when it ſeems they meant to have another fling at him; for though his Majeſty can pardon and forgive, there are that cannot. But I believe they have got no great matter by this: Nor was the Doctor turn'd out of the Commiſſion for all their Addreſs, his Majeſty knowing this would not ſuit his Intereſt.

Exact Coll. of the moſt conſiderable Debates &c. p. 337.

On

On *Saturday* the Lords ſent down a Bill, entituled, *An Act for freeing the City of* London *and parts adjacent, from Popiſh Inhabitants, and providing againſt other dangers which may ariſe from Papiſts.* May 3.

And in the Afternoon, an Account that the Earl of *Danby* would inſiſt upon his Pardon; and that he deſired his Council might be heard to the Validity of it. May 5.

On *Monday* His Majeſty ſent this meſſage to the Commons by the Lord *Ruſſell*. 'His Majeſty hath commanded me to let the Houſe know, that his Majeſty is 'willing to comply with the requeſt made to him by 'the Houſe concerning *Pickering*; and that the Law ſhall 'paſs upon him accordingly; and as to the Condemned Prieſts, the Houſe of Peers have ſent for them 'in order (as his Majeſty conceives) to ſome Examinations; and further to acquaint you, that he repeateth 'his inſtances to you, to think of putting the Fleet in 'ſuch a poſture as may quiet mens fears, and at leaſt 'ſecure us from any ſudden attempt, which his 'Majeſty doubts not, but you will do: And though 'the ſtreights and difficulties he lyeth under, are very 'great, he doth not intend during this Seſſions to 'preſs for any other Supply; being willing rather to 'ſuffer the Burdens that are upon him, ſome time 'longer, than to interrupt you, whilſt you are imployed about the diſcovery of the Plot, the Tryal 'of the Lords, and the Bill for ſecuring our Religion.

The ſame day the Commons went up to the Bar of the Lords houſe to demand Judgment againſt the Earl of *Danby* upon the Illegality of his pardon. May the 6.

On *Tueſday*, *John Wilſon* and *Roger Beckwith* Eſquires, two Juſtices of the Peace of the County of *York*, were ſent for in Cuſtody, for ſaying, *that this Parliament was*

no Parliament, and they would justify it. Of which more hereafter, *May* 22.

A Message was sent to the Lords by the Commons, that the House was ready to make good the Impeachments against the five Popish Lords in the Tower, and the Committee of Secrecy belonging to the Commons was appointed to manage the evidence against them at their Tryals.

The 7. of May *Wednesday*, the Lords sent down a Message, that they had appointed *Saturday* to hear the Earl of *Danby's* Plea, for the Validity of his Pardon, that they had Addressed to the King for the naming a Lord High Steward at his Tryal, and that of the Popish Lords, which was appointed by their Lordships to be that day seven-night.

The 8. of May. On *Thursday*, the Commons agreed an Address to his Majesty against *John* Duke of *Lauderdale*, upon general pretences of fears and jealousies, desiring he might be removed from his Majesties Counsels in *England* and *Scotland*, putting his Majesty in mind of the Address of the last Parliament to that purpose, and resolved, they would attend his Majesty in a body.

The Commons desired a Conference with the Lords, to state before hand the manner of proceedings in the Tryal of the Earl of *Danby*, and of the five Popish Lords, and took exceptions to their motion for a Lord High Steward.

On *Friday* his Majesty sent for the Commons, and passed the Bill for Disbanding the Army, and such other Bills as were ready, which was wisely done; for by this surprize other debates were prevented, which might have prov'd of dangerous consequence. After this, they appointed a Committee to inspect the Journalls, and search Presidents touching the carrying up of Bills, and what previous intimation ought to be

Bills,

given to them of his Majeſties intention to paſs Bills; and from and by whom ſuch notice hath uſually been given, and whether the Houſe may debate after the meſſage delivered by the Black Rod, for attendance of the Houſe upon his Majeſty. ~~It would have been very unhappy if by reaſon of theſe Debates, the Forces then on foot ſhould have continued undisbanded.~~ By all which as much as is poſſible to conjecture, ~~it would have been very unhappy if by reaſon of theſe Debates,~~ the Forces then on foot ſhould have continued undisbanded to the great damage of the King and Kingdom (notwithſtanding the common clamour againſt them) if his Majeſty had not thus prevented it.

The ſame day the Commons paſſed this Vote, *that no Commoner whatſoever, ſhould preſume to maintain the Validity of the pardon, pleaded by the E. of* Danby, *without the leave of their houſe firſt had*, and *that the perſons ſo doing ſhould be accounted betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of* England: and Ordered this Vote to be poſted up at *Weſtminſter-hall* Gate, *Serjeants-Innes*, and *Innes of Court*.

His Lordſhips Friends called this a depriving him of all counſel to defend himſelf, but what was appointed by his Enemies and Accuſers, in a matter of Law; inſiſting upon the Rules of proceedings in all other Courts, and the ordinary methods of Common and Natural equity and right; it ſeeming hard to ruine a man, if not ſome diffidence of the caſe, to deny him thoſe Priviledges the meaneſt and worſt of Rogues have; which is to chooſe ſuch Councel as the Court before whom they are to be tryed will allow, the Kings Councel excepted.

And when the humour was ſtirr'd, they voted, *that the Anſwer delivered by the Lords that day at the Laſt Conference* (about the manner of trying the

Peers, whereby their Lordſhips had not conſented to a Committee of the Houſes, becauſe they did not think it Conformable to the Rules and Orders of their Court, of which (they ſaid) they had reaſon to be tender in matters relating to their Judicature) *tended to the Interruption of the good correſpondency be-*

May 10. *tween the two Houſes.*

The firſt thing the Commons did on *Saturday* morning, was the Reading of an Addreſs to the King for the raiſing of the Militia of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, the *Tower Hamlets*, and Counties of *Middleſex* and *Surrey*, for the ſecurity of his Majeſties Perſon at the Tryal of the *Popiſh Lords*, by reaſon of the Great Reſort of the *Jeſuits*, *Popiſh Prieſts* and other *Popiſh Recuſants* at that time in contempt of his Majeſties Laws and Royal Proclamation; to which they deſired the Concurrence of the Lords, to which they unanimouſly agreed.

The E. of *Danby* ſending a Petition to the Lords, *that his Counſel durſt not appear to defend his caſe by reaſon of the Vote of the Commons*; the Lords at a Conference deſired to know if there were any ſuch Vote, to which the Commons would not anſwer.

Sir *Robert Howard* acquainting them, there had been paid from our *Lady-day* 1676, to the 20*th.* of *March* 1679, the Sum of 252467 *lb.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* for Secret Services: They ordered that Mr. *Charles Bertie ſhould be taken into Cuſtody of the Sergeant at Armes attending their Houſe.*

And in the Next place they ordered, *that all the Members that were of the Long Robe of their houſe ſhould prepare themſelves with Reaſons againſt the pardon pleaded by the E. of* Danby. Which was very neceſſary now that no body durſt defend it.

So the Lords Ordered the E. to be returned to the Tower in ſafety.

On

On *Sunday* the Lords agreed to the demand of the Commons for the appointing a Committee of both Houſes to ſtate the Preliminaries of the tryals to be had, to meet the next day. May 11.

And then the Commons proceeded to Vote; *that a Bill be brought in to diſable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm,* and appointed a Committee to draw the ſame.

Which was in purſuance of their former Vote, on *Sunday* the 27*th* of *April.* Though the Lords who had been twiſe deſired to concur in that vote, had given no anſwer to it. Out of an apprehenſion perhaps that his Majeſties Life might be indangered upon this Vote, they reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente,*

That in defence of the Kings perſon and the Proteſtant Religion, this houſe doth declare, that they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come by any violent death (which God forbid) that they will revenge it to the utmoſt upon the Papiſts.

As if it had been impoſſible his Majeſty ſhould be murthered by any other then a Papiſt; or that it had been any conſolation to his Majeſty to have known that his death ſhould have been revenged to the utmoſt on them who ever had been the cauſe or procurers of it.

This prov'd the occaſion of breaking all the following Parliaments to this day, and thereby to ſecure the Popiſh Lords in the Tower from Tryal, and to prevent all the excellent Laws that were then under conſideration againſt Popery, from ever being brought to paſs. And finally, it prov'd an obſtacle of union between the King and the Houſes, to the great advantage of our Enemies at home and abroad; to the great hazard of the Nation: and more

eſpecially of the Proteſtant Religion which was pretended to be ſecured by it.

I ſhall ſay more of this Vote and the former hereafter, when the effects of them will appear better then they did at firſt.

May 14. On *Wedneſday* his Majeſty ſent another Meſſage to the Commons to put them again in mind of the Fleet, and let them know he would acquit himſelf of the evil conſequences, which the want of a Fleet in ſuch a juncture might produce; and that the entering upon it, could be no hinderance to the other great affairs on their hands, but rather a Security in the diſpatch thereof.

Upon which, a debate ariſing, they adjourn'd the Conſideration of this Meſſage till *Monday* Sennight after: which had the appearance of a denial.

15. On *Thurſday* there aroſe a Controverſy betwixt the two Houſes about the Biſhops; for the Lords having Voted *that the Lords Spiritual have a right to ſtay, and ſit in Court till the Court proceed to the Vote of Guilty or not guilty.* The Commons oppoſed it, and ſaid, *that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any proceedings upon impeachments againſt the Lords in the Tower;* involving the E. of *Danby*'s caſe, with the other Lords, though it was vaſtly different. And indeed from hence aroſe this conteſt, the Commons imagining that the Biſhops would be for the validity of his pardon, and ſo make a major Vote in that Houſe; and therefore as they had deprived him of his Counſel before, ſo now the buſineſs was to out the moſt favourable part (as they thought) of his Judges.

The ſame day the Bill *to diſinherit the D. of York*, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading.

On

On *Saturday* a Vote of the Houſe of Lords was read in the Houſe of Commons. May 17.

16 May, 1679.

Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled that *Thurſday* next be appointed to begin the Tryals of the five Lords in the Tower, (*viz.*) the E. of *Powis*, *&c.*

After which reſolution, the Lords Spiritual asked the leave of that houſe, *that they might withdraw themſelves from the Tryals of the ſaid Lords, with the Liberty of entring their uſual Proteſtations.*

Upon which the Commons Reſolved.

That it be given as an inſtruction to their Committee to inſiſt upon the former Vote of this Houſe, *That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any vote in any Proceedings againſt the Lords in the Tower*: and when that matter ſhall be ſetled (*as they pleaſe, for the Lords had ſetled it*) and the method of proceedings adjuſted, this Houſe ſhall then be ready to proceed upon the Tryal of the E. of *Danby*; againſt whom the Houſe hath already demanded judgment: and afterwards to the Tryal of the other five Lords in the Tower.

So here was the two Houſes in their Votes point blank againſt one another.

I ſhall here take notice of ſome Arguments that paſſed betwixt the Lords and the Commons as they are expreſſed in the Lords Journal.

On *Tueſday* the 13*th* of *May*, The Commons deſired to know concerning the Biſhops being preſent at the Tryals of the Lords impeached, to which the Lords made this Anſwer.

That it belonged not to the Commons to be concerned in the Conſtituting parts of the Court, upon ſuch Tryals; but that the judgment of this matter belongs entirely to the Lords, and when they have adjudged

adjudged it, the Commons cannot alter it, and therefore ſhould not debate it. Upon which the Commons acknowledged, that Judgment after Tryal is in the Lords, but their Lordſhips are not to give judgment, unleſs the Commons demand it, and that the Commons deſire to know whether the Lords will proceed in theſe Tryals, as their Lordſhips did anciently; for if the Biſhops ſhould ſit upon theſe Tryals, they ſhould not demand Judgment, but being diſſatisfied with their being there, and it may be the Commons may proceed by Bill. To which the Lords made Anſwer, that after the Evidence is fully heard, they are bound to give judgment of Condemnation or Acquittal; but this being a matter of Judicature, the Lords declared, that they would impoſe ſilence upon themſelves, and debate it no further. The Commons further deſired to know whether the Biſhops ſhould be allowed to vote upon the Validity of the pardon of the E. of *Danby*, which they account no Preliminary but the very eſſence of the Tryal.

On *Thurſday* the Votes I have mentioned before being communicated by the Lords to the Commons, the Commons anſwered, *That if the pardon of the E. of Danby infer Life and Death, it is the ſame with Guilty or not Guilty, and deſired again to know whether the Lords Spiritual ſhould Vote upon the E. of D. Pardon*, in anſwer to which, the Lords ſaid *they had no Inſtructions in that point, but would acquaint the Houſe with it.*

On *Friday* the Commons inſiſted, *that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any of the proceedings upon the impeachments againſt the Lords in the Tower*, and the Commons declared *that they knew not how to proceed in Capital matters, before a new Court*, to which the Lords would not reply.

So

So the Lords voted, *that Thurſday next ſhould be appointed to begin the Tryals of the five Popiſh Lords.*

After which the Lords Spiritual deſired leave of the Houſe *that they might withdraw themſelves from the Tryals of the ſaid Lords, with the liberty of entering their uſual Proteſtations*; as I have formerly ſaid.

And it was Ordered that the Reſolution of the Lords Houſe and the deſire of the Lords Spiritual ſhould be communicated to the Committee of the Houſe of Commons the next Morning.

This being ſo done, the Commons inſiſted, *that their Vote extended to the E. of Danby as well as the five Lords, whereas the Lords Vote relate only to the five Lords, and therefore they deſired to know what anſwer the Lords would give as to the E. of* Danby, *they further objected, that they conceived, that their vote was as to the Right of the thing, and that the Biſhops have no right to be at any Vote in any capital caſes.*

And they conceived the E. of Ds. to be a Capital caſe, as well as the caſes of the other five Lords, and that if the Biſhops may have leave to withdraw, it implies a right, which if they have, it is a new Court which the Commons cannot admit of.

The Lords reply'd *there is no day yet appointed for the tryal of the E. of D. and that the Lords Spiritual will be abſent at all the parts of the Tryals of the five Lords, and that the Proteſtations they now deſire to enter, will be the ſame as in the Earl of* Strafford's *caſe.*

Then the Commons ſaid *they could not proceed to treat of any other Propoſals, till ſuch time as the buſineſs about the Court be ſetled.*

On *Munday* the 19*th of May* the Commons further inſiſted *that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in the proceeding againſt the Lords in the Tower, and when that matter ſhall be ſetled, and the Method of proceedings*

ceedings adjuſted their Houſe would be then ready to proceed upon the Tryal of the Pardon of the E. of Danby, *againſt whom the Commons had already demanded judgment, and afterwards to the tryal of the five Lords in the Tower.*

Upon which the Lords told them *they had no Authority to debate this Matter.*

Note that the tryal of the E. of D. was render'd impoſſible, by Voting no Commoner of *England* ſhould be of Counſel with him, or defend the validity of his pardon. 2*ly*, That all this conteſt about the Biſhops was only in relation to the Earl's caſe. 3*ly*, That they inſinuate they would proceed by Bill, all which were Declarations they meant to force the Lords as much as in them lay to condemn the E. one way or another, as the Long Parliament forced his Majeſties Father, and the Houſe of Lords againſt their declared judgments, to condemn the E. of *Strafford*. But to go on.

" The Commons then further ſaid that the Lords " reſolution which was offered, was no anſwer to " their propoſition ; which comprehended the E. of " *D.* as well as the five Lords: beſides the Lords an- " ſwer was doubtful, for it appears that the Biſhops " asked leave to be abſent, but it appeared not that " it was granted, then conſequently the Biſhops muſt " ſit in Court at the Tryals ; that the Commons con- " ceived that the Biſhops abſenting themſelves by way " of Leave, is a ſtrong implication of a right aſſert- " ed, which they cannot allow, can ever be maintained (*yet this they were told, let it imply what it will*) was allowed them in the caſe of the E. of *Strafford* in Parliament by a houſe of Commons that were no great Friends to Biſhops, and why could not the Commons now be contented with what wa[illegible]-actiſed then

then and at all other times: and (the Commons) did think (they ſaid) there was the ſame reaſon for the Biſhops being abſent from the Tryal, upon the pardon, as from the tryal of the other five Lords, and that the naming of a day for the tryal of the five Lords, before the tryal of the pardon of the E. of *Danby*, againſt whom the Commons had already demanded Judgment, as the putting that laſt which they deſired ſhould be firſt.

To which the Lords told them, *they were not impowered to debate, but would impart theſe Matters to the Houſe.*

The Commons hereupon replied, *they were ready to go on, and that for want of theſe trials all publick buſineſs ſtood ſtill*, but the Lords ſeem'd to lay the ſtop at the Commons door, by naming a day, which they conceived ought not to have been appointed, before the Methods were conſidered, for the Lords had not anſwered the Commons in matter of Right, (*which never was, nor it may be will be anſwered*) which was neceſſary firſt to be adjuſted, and they deſired their reſolution as to that matter; for they conceived they (the Biſhops) had no right (*which whether they had or no, there was no more neceſſity of determining it then, then heretofore*) and the Lords might as well make the Judges part of their Court, as the Biſhops in this point; As they ſaid.

And they ſaid, *the Commons would give no diſturbance to the Ancient judicature, for they own'd that to be ſacred, and they conceived they had a right to know before what Court they ſhall appear, and they hoped the Lords would conſider of their having appointed a day, before the Methods were conſidered, and would give them leave to wonder at it.*

It is as likely the Lords took leave all this time to

wonder at the Commons too; and it is likely posterity will wonder that all this Controverſy ſhould be banded thus, when it was thought to have been full time at leaſt, to have been trying the five Lords, and diſpatching the Bills againſt Popery.

On *Tueſday* the 25*th* of *May* the Lords having again conſidered of all this, in a Committee of the whole Houſe, gave further day for the Tryal of the five Lords till that day ſennight.

The ſame day, the Commons read the Bill *for freeing the City of* London, *and parts adjacent, from Popiſh Inhabitants*, with the Amendments the third time; and having added two clauſes, return'd it to the Lords from whom it came.

The Bill *for diſabling the D. of* York *to inherit the imperial Crown of this Realm*, being read the ſecond time, and the queſtion put whether it ſhould be committed, the Houſe divided, and there were for the

Yeas—207.
Noes—128.

And ſo it was reſolved in the affirmative. And the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, which was to ſit the *Friday* following.

On *Thurſday* the 22*th* of *May*, *John Wilſon* and *Roger Beckwith* Eſquires, the two *Yorkſhire* Juſtices of the peace, who were ſent for into cuſtody, for ſaying this was no Parliament; exhibited in the Houſe a Petition under the Hands of Eight Juſtices of the peace of the North Riding of the County of *York*: certifying that they were all preſent at the Seſſions at *Thirſke* the firſt of *May* 1679, when *John Wilſon* Eſq; being deſired to give his opinion whether the Act for Settlement of the poor of the 14 of *Car.* 2, which was to continue to the end of the firſt Seſſion of the next

next Parliament was ſtill in force; to which he anſwered, it was doubtful, in regard they had not yet made any Act, and is not a Parliament in Law, becauſe no Record remains of it; to which it ſeems the other aſſented, and all the ſaid Juſtices certify that neither of them did then ſpeak any words derogatory to the Parliament.

Now this doubt did ariſe by reaſon of the prorogation in the beginning of this Parliament before the Speaker was choſen; which ſeemed to make a Seſſion.

Hereupon the Commons Ordered that they ſhould be diſcharged, paying their fees.

But who ſhould make theſe Gentlemen any Recompence for the trouble, charge, and injury they had ſuſtained by this impriſonment, was a matter they were not then at leiſure to conſider. But in the interval of a Parliament, it may be worth their while to look into the authorities that enabled them to impriſon their fellow Subjects upon a bare, and it may be falſe and malicious Suggeſtion, who are no members of their houſe. But if they ſhall not be pleas'd to conſider of it themſelves, the reſt of the Gentry will, and take other Meaſures perhaps for the future; in regard that no man is ſecure of his Liberty in time of Parliament at this boundleſs rate of Priviledge.

On *Friday* 23 of *May* 1679, the Houſe being informed that Sir *Stephen Fox* had paid ſeveral Sums of Money to ſome of the Members of the laſt Parliament, and that he had books of Accounts to evidence the ſame: firſt they ordered,

That he ſhould be immediately ſent for to attend the Houſe, and to bring with him all the Books and Papers of Accounts of any moneys he has paid to any Members

of the last Parliament. And presently again Ordered,

That Sir S. F. do forthwith produce to this House his Leiger Book, Cash Book and Journal; and his Receipts for money by him paid for secret Services, and that he be injoyned not to go out of the Company of the Members (they sent with him) before they return to the House.

Ordered again,

That no Members depart the Service of the House until Sir S. F. and the other Members return.

Ordered again,

That Sir F. Winnington do to morrow morning make a report of the informations given to the Committee of Secresy, touching Money paid for Secret Services to the members of the last Parliament.

Ordered again,

That Sir S. Fox do upon his Memory, name to the House such Members of the last Parliament, as he paid any money to for Secret Service.

There is no Entry of the Persons by them named, but many Lists of them in writing were presently spread about the Nation, some of which had more Names, and others fewer, according to the affection of the Transcribers, and so the Honour of many an honest Gentleman, was under hand blasted, with the people especially, there being no way left to rectify this falsehood, but by repairing to Sir *Stephen Fox* for a Certificate, and that would not have been believed neither by their Enemies, whilst their friends did not need it.

As I recommended one consideration before to our Parliament men, relating to our Liberties, so they may be pleased to take another along with them for our honours, for it seems if a man be imprisoned or accused by the Order of the Commons in Parliament,

ment, though never ſo wrongfully, he ſhall hardly obtain any relief; and therefore great care ought to be taken not to precipitate matters of this Conſequence. Now Sir *Stephen Fox* might poſſibly have given a better account next morning in Writing, then thus haſtily upon his memory; and there the Gentlemen accuſed, might have been heard what they could ſay for themſelves, before they had been defamed to the whole Nation, and after that an exact account might have been given in Print, without leaving it to the Liberty of every man to add and diminiſh as he pleaſed. Such inconveniences as theſe, will ever follow haſty Counſels, which therefore ought to be avoided; if they be not, the injury will at one time or another be repay'd with Intereſt.

To conclude this matter, as there was never any Law to prohibit Parliament-men from taking the liberality of our Princes in time of Parliament, ſo there was the greater reaſon for it in this Parliament, which laſted too long, to the Ruine of many Gentlemen of ſmall eſtate, who were Members of it; the cuſtom of taking Wages being then wholly laid aſide; and as this tended to make them odious to the People, ſo it reflected upon his Majeſty: and therefore ought to have been purſued with great Tenderneſs, and care alſo ought to have been taken for the time to come, by allowing better Wages, and making it duely paid; without which, this thing will never be prevented.

All which is ſaid not to accuſe Sir *Stephen Fox* or the Gentlemen that were accuſed by him, but to ſhow what injuries may and will happen, as often as that great Body acts with too much warmth, and how difficult it is to redreſs what might eaſily enough have been prevented, which I deſire may end in the honour of Parliaments,

liaments, by making them Act with all poſſible reſervedneſs and caution for the future.

On *Saturday*, *May* the 24*th*, the Commons ordered an Anſwer to be return'd to the laſt Meſſage of the houſe of Peers, touching the Appointment of *Tueſday* the 27*th* of *May*, for the Tryal of the five Lords in the Tower, with reaſons why they could not proceed to the Tryal of thoſe five Lords, before judgment given upon the E. of *D's.* plea of his Pardon, and the point of the Biſhops not Voting in any proceedings, upon impeachments for Capital offences were ſetled, and the methods of Proceedings adjuſted, and that a Committee ſhould be appointed to draw up theſe reaſons.

A Petition being exhibited the ſame day to the Commons by Sir *Thomas Hare*, *John Trinham* Eſq; and others on the behalf of themſelves, and the major part of the Freeholders of the County of *Norfolk*. Complaining of ſeveral rude and illegal practiſes, in Electing and Returning Sir *John Hobart* to ſerve in that Parliament, as Knight of the Shire for the ſaid County of *Norfolk*; and the Petitioners having in their Petition ſet forth, that by reaſon of Printing and Publiſhing of the Reſolves and Orders of the Houſe, the Free-holders of the ſaid County, were affrighted and terrified.

And a Motion being made that the ſaid Petition might be rejected, the ſame was upon the queſtion rejected.

Sir *Francis Winnington* reported from the Committee of Secrecy, ſeveral Informations *of Moneys paid for Secret Service to the Members of the laſt Parliament.*

Whereupon they Ordered, *that one Mr.* Knight, *and Sir* Richard Wiſeman, *ſhould be immediately ſent for to attend the Houſe. And that the Speaker ſhould Iſſue out his*

his Warrant, for the ſummoning of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhould be Named to him, by any Member of their Houſe, touching Moneys paid for Secret Service.

And then Adjourned the Debate of that affair till Tueſday Morning following; when his Majeſty put an end to this and all their other proceedings.

On *Munday* the 26*th* of *May*, the Commons drew up reaſons why they could not proceed to the Tryal of the five impeach'd Popiſh Lords, till they had their demands in relation to the E. of *Danby*, and the Biſhops; which are too long to be here inſerted, not without ſome ſeeming reflexions upon the Proceedings of the Houſe of Peers.

But I need not interpoſe betwixt them, the Lords are better able to Juſtify and Vindicate their Cauſe againſt the Commons then I am; and it is fit I ſhould leave it to them.

Yet I cannot but take notice, they never gave any reaſon for their Vote of the 9*th* of *May*; *That no Commoner whatſoever ſhould preſume to maintain the Validity of the Pardon pleaded by the E. of* D. *without the leave of their Houſe firſt had and obtained, and that the Perſons ſo doing, ſhould be accounted betrayers of the Liberties of* England. By which Vote it became impoſſible for the Lords to do the E. Juſtice; for his Plea being matter of Law and not of Fact, by the Law of the Land, he ought to have Counſel aſſigned him by the Lords, without the Interpoſition of the Commons, the Lords being his Judges, and the Commons his Accuſers, and by conſequence his Enemies. And it ſeems contrary to the Rules of Natural and Eternal Equity, that a man ſhould have no means to defend his life, but what his Accuſers will allow him: and I believe they themſelves would never have ſubmitted to this. Now Counſel he could have none if they were not

Com-

Commoners (as they that made that Vote will I ſuppoſe allow,) all the Peers being his Judges, and ſo foreclosed from being of Counſel for him. And without Counſel, the Lords neither could nor ought, to proceed againſt him, therefore the Commons had made it legally impoſſible to try the E. till that Vote were recall'd, and this I take to be the true reaſon why their Lordſhips Ordered the Tryals of the five Lords before his, which they did after this Vote, for before that time they were willing to have tryed him firſt, as appears by their Journal.

2*ly*. The Commons give no reaſon why the Biſhops ſhould not be allowed to withdraw upon leave, as they anciently uſed to do; for they do not deny, that anciently they uſe to withdraw upon Leave, though the Lords urged that, nor produce one inſtance, where they were excluded, but upon Leave, and with proteſtations entered. And therefore there ſeemed to be much Reaſon why the Lords ſhould ſtick to their own Vote, and refuſe to gratify the Commons in this point, to the dammage of the Biſhops.

3*ly*. The Commons proceeded a little myſteriouſly with the Lords, under a general term of the Lords in the Tower; including the E. of *D*. by that term, tho his Caſe was vaſtly different, both in matter of Fact, and the manner of the Tryal. For the Lords yielded at the firſt, that the Biſhops ought to withdraw from the Tryal of the five Popiſh Lords, and therefore that point ought to have been no further inſiſted on; yet ſtill the Commons urged *that the Biſhops ought not to be preſent at the Tryal of the Lords in the Tower*, including the E. of *D*. in thoſe general Terms, as before; which ſeemed liker a diſpute at the Bar, then a Treaty betwixt two Committees of the Houſes for an Accommodation.

Now

Now that the E. of *Danby*'s caſe was vaſtly different from that of the five Lords appears from hence. 1. There is nothing charged upon the E. that is treaſon within the Statute of the 25*th* of *Ed.* 3. c. 2. nor any other Statute that was ever alledged, and ſo it muſt have been debated upon the Tryal whether the Crimes were Treaſon or no, ſuppoſing the matter of Fact had been proved or granted; and of this the Biſhops are Judges, as well as the Temporal Lords, and have ever had their Vote in all thoſe Statutes that have made or declared what was, and what was not Treaſon, and particularly in the Statute above cited, which is the great and ſtanding rule, and ſo ought not to be excluded here, but in the caſe of the five Lords it was otherwiſe, for their Treaſons were apparently within the ſaid Statute, if prov'd true. 2*ly*, The E's. plea was a meer Law point, *viz.* whether the Pardon was Valid or not, and the Biſhops are Judges with the Lords Temporal in all points of Law brought before that Houſe. 3*ly*. Though the Commons inſiſted that the Event was the ſame as upon *Guilty or not Guilty*. Yet this may be queſtioned, for it ſeems juſt, that if the Pardon had been over-ruled, the E. ſhould have ſtill been in the ſame caſe, as if it had not been granted, and ſo have been tryed again upon the impeachment, and then might have demurr'd to the point in Law, whether the Crimes charged were Treaſon or no, before he had been condemned, and in this point perhaps, the Biſhops had been Judges; and when both theſe points had been heard and over-ruled, then that the matter of fact ſhould have been tryed upon the Plea of *Guilty or not Guilty*, and then the Biſhops ſhould have been abſent. And perhaps the Commons will find that the Earls reſolution of abiding by his pardon will amount to no more

then this, when ever he be tryed, at leaſt it ſeems reaſonable it ſhould not. For there is no reaſon a man ſhould be hanged, becauſe the Attorney General miſtook in drawing his Pardon, or he in the manner of ſuing it out, without a Tryal. If it be ſaid that *Conſenſus tollit Errorem*, I anſwer, No man can conſent to his own deſtruction, ſo as to forecloſe him of all lawful means of ſaving his Life. If it be objected that this is too tedious a way of proceeding, I anſwer in the words of the Heathen, *de morte hominis nulla eſt cunctatio Longa*; it being eaſy to cut off a mans Head, and impoſſible to reſtore him to life, good conſideration ought to be taken before it be done.

It may be ſome will be ready to ſay *a Fools bolt is ſoon ſhot*, and though this is true, yet, I know no reaſon why I may not ſpeak my judgment as well as others: and if I be adjudged an enemy of the Commons of *England* for my pains, I cannot help it, only I have not medled with the Validity of the pardon in all this, nor I think never will, and ſo I have not offended againſt that Vote.

The Concluſion I ſhall draw from hence is, that the Lords had reaſon to put the Tryal of the five Popiſh Lords firſt, and that the Commons neceſſitated them ſo to do, by that Extraordinary Vote, by ſtarting a new Controverſy about the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops in all Capital cauſes; and by refuſing them liberty to do as they always had done before, that is to withdraw upon Leave, with the uſual proteſtations entered; all which things were not preſently to be given up, nor could ſuddenly be determined.

The reſt of that day was ſpent in two Conferences, the one concerning the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and the other about the Tryals; in which the Long reaſons I mentioned were delivered.

On

On *Tueſday* the 27*th* of *May*, The *Habeas Corpus* Bill was agreed at a Conference betwixt the two Houſes.

Then a Meſſage was ſent by the Lords to the Commons to acquaint them that his Majeſty was coming in his Robes, who accordingly ſent for the Commons, and having paſſed,

1. An Act *for the reingroſſing the Records of Fines, burnt or loſt in the late Fire in the Temple:*

2. An Act *for the better ſecuring of the Liberty of the Subject, and for preventing impriſonment beyond Seas.* Which is that I call the *Habeas Corpus* Act for ſhortneſs. Which were all that had been got ready for his Royal aſſent in this Seſſion of Parliament:

His Majeſty made a ſhort Speech to this effect.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Was in good hopes that this Seſſion would have "produced great good to the Kingdom, and that "you would have gone on unanimouſly, for the good "thereof; but to my great grief, I ſee that there are "ſuch differences between the two Houſes, that I "am afraid very ill effects will come of them. I know "but one way of Remedy for the preſent, aſſuring "you, that in the mean time I ſhall ſhew my ſincerity "with the ſame Zeal I met you here; and therefore "my Lord Chancellor I command you to do as I have "Ordered you.

Who immediately Prorogued both Houſes to the 14*th* day of *Auguſt* following.

The news of this Prorogation of the Parliament, was no ſooner ſpread about the Nation, but the cry was taken up by the zealous Impoſtors, that it was

done of purpoſe to hinder the Tryal of the Popiſh Lords: for as for the E. of *D.* the People were generally unconcern'd what came of him. And dreadful Stories were told in Coffee-houſes, Ale-houſes, Taverns, and Meeting houſes of the danger of Popery, and what great favourers they had at Court, not ſparing his Majeſty.

But this was not all, the Act for Regulating Printing, expiring with this Seſſion, of which no care was taken, notwithſtanding his Majeſty recommended it ſo ſeriouſly to the Parliament by the Lord Chancellour, at the opening of it. The Nation became preſently ſo peſtred with a ſwarm of Lying, Seditious treaſonable and ſcandalous Pamphlets, Papers and Pictures; that a man would have thought Hell had been broken looſe. His Majeſty, the Church, the Government, were repreſented every day by them in the moſt odious manner that ſpite, falſehood, and malice could invent; to beget a diſaffection in the people to the Government, and to involve us in another Rebellion. And if any man preſumed to Defend them, he was preſently a Papiſt in Maſquerade, a Tory or Tantivy man; and very often threatned with the Parliament. All which was done without doubt out of as pure kindneſs to his Majeſty, and to beget honour to the Government, and tended as apparently to the Intereſt and Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, as the *Jews* Crys of *Crucify him*, *Crucify him*, did to the delivery of our Saviour out of the hands of *Pilate*.

There was an Accident that began in this Seſſion of Parliament, and received its occaſional being from ſome Diſtemper'd Spirits. In *March* 1679, there was a Speech ſaid to be made in the Houſe of Lords

Lords by a certain * Earl, and by the Diſſenters and Commonwealth Party ſpread about the three Kingdoms with a mighty Zeal, which in *Scotland* was followed with the uſual effects of ſuch like Speeches, and in regard that it may adminiſter much conſolation to that Party to read it over again that were ſo well pleaſed with it before, I will reprint it here word for word.

* *This Speech is Printed in a Pamphlet called* An impartial account of divers remarkable Proceedings in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament. *London* 1679. *folio.*

My Lords,

'You are appointing of the State of *England* to be 'taken up in a Committee of the whole Houſe, ſome 'day next week. I do not know how well what I have 'to ſay may be received, for I never ſtudy either 'to make my Court well or to be popular; I always 'ſpeak what I am commanded by the *Dictates of the* '*Spirit within me.*

'There are ſome Conſiderations that concern *Eng-* '*land* ſo neerly that without them you will come far 'ſhort of ſafety and quiet at home: We have a little 'Siſter, and ſhe hath no Breaſts; what ſhall we do for 'our Siſter in the day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken for? 'If ſhe be a wall we will build on her a palace of ſil- 'ver, if ſhe be a door, we will encloſe her with boards 'of Cedar. We have ſeveral Little Siſters without 'Breaſts, the *French* Proteſtant Churches, the two 'Kingdoms of *Ireland* and *Scotland*; the Foreign Pro- 'teſtants are a Wall, the only Wall and defence to *Eng-* '*land*, upon it you may build Palaces of Silver, Glori- 'ous Palaces. The protection of the Proteſtants a- 'broad, is the greateſt power and ſecurity the Crown 'of *England* can attain to, and which can only help 'us to give check to the growing greatneſs of *France.*

'*Scotland*

'*Scotland* and *Ireland*, are two doors, either to let in 'good or miſchief upon us; they are much weakened 'by the Artifice of our cunning Enemies, and we ought 'to Incloſe them with Boards of Cedar.

'*Popery and Slavery*, like two Siſters, go hand in 'hand, ſometimes one goes firſt, ſometimes the other, 'in at doors, but the other is always following cloſe 'at hand.

'In *England* Popery was to have brought in Sla-'very; in *Scotland* Slavery went before, and Popery 'was to follow.

'I do not think your Lordſhips or the Parliament 'have Juriſdiction there, it is an Ancient Kingdom; 'they have an Illuſtrious Nobility, a Gallant Gentry, 'a Learned Clergy, and an underſtanding worthy 'People: but yet we cannot think of *England* as we 'ought, without reflecting on the condition they are 'in. They are under the ſame Prince, and the influ-'ence of the ſame Favourites and Councils; when 'they are hardly dealt with, can we that are the 'Richer expect better uſage? for 'tis certain, that in all 'Abſolute Governments, the pooreſt Countries are 'always moſt favourably dealt with.

'When the Ancient Nobility and Gentry there, 'cannot enjoy their Royalties, their Shreivaldoms, 'and their Stewardaries, which they and their An-'ceſtors have poſſeſſed for ſeveral Hundreds of years; 'but that now they are enjoyned by the Lords of the 'Council, to make deputations of their Authorities, 'to ſuch as are their known Enemies.

'Can we expect to enjoy our *Magna Charta* long, 'under the ſame Perſons and Adminiſtration of af-'fairs? If the Council Table there can impriſon any 'Noble-man or Gentleman for ſeveral years, without 'bringing him to Tryal, or giving the leaſt reaſon for

'what

'what they do; can we expect the ſame men will 'preſerve the Liberty of the Subject here?

'I will acknowledge I am not well vers'd in the 'particular Laws of *Scotland*; but this I do know, 'that all the Northern Countreys have by their 'Laws, an undoubted and inviolable Right to their 'Liberties and Properties; yet *Scotland* hath outdone 'all the Eaſtern and Southern Countreys, in having 'their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates ſubjected to the 'Arbitrary will and pleaſure of them that Govern. 'They have lately plundered and haraſſed the Richeſt 'and Wealthieſt Countries of that Kingdom, and 'brought down the Barbarous *Highlanders* to devour 'them; and all this without a moſt colourable pre-'tence to do it. Nor can there be found a reaſon of 'State for what they have done, but that thoſe wick-'ed Miniſters deſigned to procure a Rebellion at 'any rate; which as they managed, was only pre-'vented by the miraculous hand of God, or other-'wiſe all the Papiſts in *England* would have been 'armed, and the faireſt opportunity given in the juſt 'time for the execution of that wicked and bloody de-'ſign the Papiſts had; and it is not poſſible for any 'man that duly conſiders it, to think other, but that 'thoſe Miniſters that acted that, were as guilty of 'the Plot, as any of the Lords that are in queſtion 'for it.

'My Lords, I am forced to ſpeak this the plainer, 'becauſe till the preſſure be fully and clearly taken off 'from *Scotland*, 'tis not poſſible for me or any think-'ing man to believe that good is meant us here.

'We muſt ſtill be upon our guard, apprehending 'that the Principle is not changed at Court, and that 'theſe men that are ſtill in place and Authority, have 'that influence upon the Mind of our excellent

Prince

'Prince. that he is not, nor cannot be that to us, 'that his own Nature and Goodneſs would incline 'him to.

'I know your Lordſhips can order nothing in this, 'but there are thoſe that hear me, can put a perfect 'cure to it; until that be done, the *Scotch Weed* is like 'Death in the Pot. *Mors in Olla.* But there is ſome-'thing too, now I conſider, that moſt immediately 'concerns us; their Act of Twenty two Thouſand 'men to be ready to invade us upon all occaſions. 'This I hear, that the Lords of the Council there, 'have treated as they do all other Laws, and ex-'pounded it into a Standing Army of ſix thouſand 'men. I am ſure we have reaſon and right to be-'ſeech the King that that Act may be better conſi-'dered in the next Parliament there. I ſhall ſay no 'more for *Scotland* at this time, I am afraid your 'Lordſhips will think I have ſaid too much, having 'no concern there. But if a *French* Noble-man, 'ſhould come to dwell in my Houſe and Family, I 'ſhould think it concerned me to ask what he did 'in *France*, for if he were there a Felon, a Rogue, 'a Plunderer, I ſhould deſire him to live elſe-where; 'and I hope your Lordſhips will do the ſame thing 'for the Nation, if you find the ſame cauſe.

'My Lords give me leave to ſpeak two or three words 'concerning our other Siſter *Ireland*; thither I hear 'is ſent *Douglas*'s Regiment, to ſecure us againſt the '*French*. Beſides I am credibly informed, that the 'Papiſts have their Arms reſtored, and the Prote-'ſtants are not many of them yet recovered from be-'ing the ſuſpected Party; the Sea-Towns as well as 'the Inland, are full of Papiſts: that Kingdom can-'not long continue in the *Engliſh* hands, if ſome bet-'ter care be not taken of it. This is in your power,

'and

'and there is nothing there, but is under your Laws, 'therefore I beg that this Kingdom at leaſt may be 'taken in conſideration, together with the State of '*England*: for I am ſure there can be no ſafety here, 'if theſe doors be not ſhut up and made ſure.

Whether any ſuch Harangue was made in that *Auguſt* aſſembly or not, I cannot ſay; but I am ſure that all the Seditious and Treaſonable Pamphlets that have been ſince Printed, are but flouriſhes upon this Text, and an extract of thoſe that went before them, the very model of the laſt Rebellion, and probably the deſign of an other. But *England* and *Ireland* are not as yet ripe for ſo generous an undertaking. But to ſhew you how matters paſt in *Scotland*, I will Tranſcribe the very words of my Author, and leave the credit of them with him.

By the very next poſt after this Speech was ſaid to have been ſpoken, Forty written Coppies of it were ſent from *London* to *Edenbrough*; and the Fanaticks grew ſo inſolent and ſo daring upon it, that ſeveral Loyal Gentlemen, wrote up accounts, to what height of Inſolences this Speech had blown up the Enemies of the Church and the Monarchy; and that they had juſt reaſons to fear that very dangerous attempts, if not a down-right Rebellion would ſpeedily enſue thereupon: but theſe reports found not too much credit at *London*; where the world was made to believe by men (whoſe intereſt it was that they ſhould not be credited) that they were but the inventions of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, for whoſe advantage in that conjucture, it was that they ſhould be believed. *The Spirit of Popery, ſpeaking in the Phanatical Proteſtants.* pag. 73. London. 1680. *fol.*

My Author goes on that he is confident (ſuch is his charity) he that made it, would not have done ſo, had he known the true State of *Scotland*, which *The Effects.*

 few

few *Engliſh* men do, or foreſeen the evil effects, which it immediately had, in encouraging the Covenanteers to Aſſaſſinate, Maſſacre and Rebel. For now they begin to look and ſpeak big in *Edenbrough*; and many of them were heard and ſeen upon the *Crown of the Cauſway*, who had ſneeked about in darkneſs before. And as for the diſaffected parts of the Country, they now diſplay'd *the Banners of Jeſus Chriſt*, (as they Blaſphemouſly call'd their colours) at their Conventicles every where, and their Preachers now told them, *that the time of their deliverance, and of Gods taking Vengeance upon his Enemies, was now at hand; only they muſt repent, and be ſtrong, and of a great courage, and fight the Battles of the Lord.* They alſo threatned in all places, ſuch as they thought were ſeriouſly active againſt them, talking of great Changes and Revolutions in *England*, and in Publick Places, dropt Liſts of the Names of thoſe men, whom they had a mind ſhould fall by Heroical Hands. And in the firſt place naming Dr. *Sharp* the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* and Primate of *Scotland*, whom they meekly ſtiled, *That perjured Apoſtate Prelate Sharp*. Threatning to handle him and the reſt ſeverely.

Having ſpent a few Weeks in theſe godly Exhortations, animating each other to this good work, and being thereunto further encouraged by the Brethren in *London*, the third of *May* following, they began the work with the murther of the ſaid Archbiſhop; and I will inform you of the manner of that Butchery in the words of the ſame Author.

The Archbiſhop had been attending his Majeſties Service in the Privy Council at *Edenbrough*, from thence he went over into *Fife*, in the after-noon, on the Second of *May* 1679. That night he lodged at

Captain

Captain *Seaton*'s Houſe, in a Village called *Kennoway*, which is in the Mid-way betwixt *Bruntiſland* and St. *Andrews*. About Midnight as the People of the Town report, two men well mounted and armed, came thither to enquire if the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews* was Lodged at Captain *Seaton*'s; and as ſoon as they were informed that he was, they preſently rode out of the Town again.

The next morning being the Third of *May*, ſeveral Parties of Horſe-men were ſeen to traverſe the Road betwixt *Kennoway* and St. *Andrews*, who doubtleſs were the Aſſaſſins, who watched for an opportunity to effect the Murther which they had long deſigned. But the Lord Primate who was a man of great Natural courage, and whom ſo many deliverances for almoſt Twenty years, from the hands of thoſe bloody Zealots, had now brought to an entire confidence in God's Protection, took Coach about Nine of the Clock, without any preſage or apprehenſion of danger.

He had none but his Eldeſt Daughter to ride with him in the Coach, and only three Servants on Horſe-back to attend him; one of whom he had ſent before he was aſſaulted, to pay his reſpects to a Perſon of Honour, by whoſe houſe he paſſed on his Road. He advanced on his journey in great ſecurity till he came to a little Country Village called *Magus*, two miles diſtant from St. *Andrews* betwixt Eleven and Twelve a Clock in the Fore-noon.

There he firſt perceived himſelf to be purſued by Eleven or Twelve men barefaced, well mounted, with Piſtols cocked in their hands, and drawn Swords hanging in Strings from their Armes; as ſoon as he ſpied them, he bid his Coachman drive

faſt as his Horſes could gallop, but alas too late, for the Aſſaſſin furiouſly purſued him, and in their purſute, ſhot at him ſeveral times in his Coach, running as faſt as ſix good Horſes could draw it. The Coachman (who diſcovered the Villains before his Lord, and had thereupon begged leave of him, but was not permitted to gallop away) had certainly outdriven them, if one *Balfour* of *Kinlock*, mounted on a very fleet bay horſe, had not overtaken them; who not daring to attack the Coachman, becauſe his Whip did fright his Sprightly horſe, therefore rod up to the Poſtilion, whom he wounded with his Sword in the face, ſhot one of the foremoſt Horſes, and hamſtringed the other, and ſo ſtopped the Coach.

By that time this was done, the reſt of the Murtherers came up, and one of them fired a Piſtol or Blunderbuſs ſo near his Breaſt, that his Daughter rubbed off the burning which ſtuck to his Gown. Then they called him by the Name of *Dog*, *Villain*, *Apoſtate*, *Perſecuter of the Godly*, *Betrayer of Jeſus Chriſt and his Church*, and bid him come out of his Coach, to receive what he deſerved for his wickedneſs againſt the Kirk of *Scotland*.

Upon this his Daughter got out of the Coach, and fell on her knees, begging her Father's Life; but they regarded neither her Prayers nor Tears, but threw her down ſeveral times upon the ground, trampled upon her and wounded her: which her tender hearted Father ſeeing, after much reproachful Language, and many Threatnings, came meekly out of the Coach, and with calmneſs ſaid unto them, *Gentlemen, I know not that I have ever injured any of you, or if I did I am ready to make you reparation; and therefore I beſeech you to ſpare my life, and I promiſe I will never purſue you for this violence,*

and

and I pray you conſider, before you bring the guilt of Innocent blood upon your ſelves.

The reverence of his Preſence, and his undaunted Courage in addreſſing himſelf ſo reſolutely and gravely unto them, ſurpriſed them, and made them ſtand a little while, as it were unreſolved what to do; and one of them relenting, Cried to the reſt, *Spare theſe Grey Hairs*: but their cruel Zeal overcoming their Natural Pity and Juſtice, pauſed not long before they replyed, *He muſt die, He muſt die.* And then again calling him *Traiterous Villain, Judas, betrayer of the Intereſt of Chriſt, Enemy to God and his People*, ſaid unto him, *Thou ſhalt now receive the reward of thy Apoſtacy, and enmity to the People of God.*

Then ſeeing them determined to take away his Life, he begged a little while to pray, *telling them, he would pray for them*; but they ſcornfully told him, *That they cared not for his Prayers, being ſure that God would not hear ſo baſe a Dog as he was.* Then looking ſtedfaſtly upon one of the Aſſaſſins, whom he ſeemed to know, he kneeled down before him, and ſaid unto him, *Sir you are a Gentleman, and I muſt beg my laſt favour from you, that ſince you are reſolved that I muſt dye, you would have pity upon my poor child here, and ſpare her life, and for this, Sir give me your hand*: and thereupon ſtretching his hand towards the cruel man, he had for a return, a very great blow with a Shable, which almoſt quite cut off his Hand, and the Villain redoubling his Stroak, gave him another violent Wound upon the left Eye, which cut him two Inches above it, and one below; this Stroak knocked him down, but getting up upon his Knees again, he ſaid, *Gentlemen, it is now enough, you have done your work*; and holding up his Hands (as well

as

as he could) to Heaven, he fervently cryed out, *Lord Jeſus, have mercy on my Soul, and receive my Spirit.* While he was in this Poſture of Devotion, they wounded him in his Hands which he held up to Heaven, and in other parts of his Body, till in a kind of compoſure he laid down his Head upon his Arm, ſaying *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.*

Theſe were the laſt words which he uttered, like an excellent Chriſtian; after which they gave him no leſs then ſixteen Wounds on his Head; ſome of them as they were going away, thought they heard him groan, which made them go back, and to make ſure work, ſtir about his Brains in the Scull with the points of their Swords. His Head ſeemed to be all one Wound; and pieces of his ſhattered Scull, and Brains were ſome days after found on the Ground that Unhallowed *Golgotha* where he was ſlain.

Having finiſhed their long deſired Murther, they made his Servants Solemnly ſwear not to diſcover them, and then bad them in deriſion take up their Prieſt, and having ſaid ſo, rode back to *Magus*, where they firſt aſſaulted the Coach; and one of them, by Name *John Balfour* of *Kinlock*, as he paſſed by that Town, was heard to ſay very audibly and diſtinctly, *That now Judas was killed.*

A Proclamation being publiſhed in his Majeſties Name for the diſcovery of theſe abominable execrable Murtherers, and ſearch made among the Tenants and Heritors of the Shire of *Fife*, and the Inhabitants of *Magus* being examined upon oath; it was made apparent, that the bloody Aſſaſſins, and many others, who were ſtrongly preſumed to have been Abetters, and Contrivers of the Murther, were notorious

notorious *Fanaticks, Frequenters of Field-Conventicles, and Followers of Mr.* Welsh, *and other Traiterous intercommuned and Rebellious Preachers*; Nine of the Actors in this Tragedy were discovered by their Names and Sirnames, which are as followeth.

John Balfour of Kinlock, David Hackston of Rathilettet, George Balfour in Gilston, James Russel in Kings-Kettle, Robert Dingwall a Farmers Son in *Caddam, Andrew Guillan* Weaver *in Balmerinoch, Alexander Hinderson and Andrew Hinderson, Sons to John Hinderson in Killbrachmont, George Fleming, Son to George Fleming in Balbuthy.*

The rebellion interrupting the course of Justice against these miscreants for some time, the 20*th* day of *September* 1679, there was another Proclamation published for the apprehending those Nine, and all others that were in the Rebellion, and were Heritors or Ministers.

But by this time the Murtherers and Rebels, had fled the Kingdom, notwithstanding all imaginable care and diligence to prevent their escape; and whilst the Covenanting Army lay at *Glascow*, one of the *Balfours*, as a very credible Gentleman, who was then the Town, told me (saith my Author) openly boasted of the Murther as a glorious fact; and said holding up his Arm, *This hand helped to kill the Fox.* And five of the Accomplices, Complotters and Abetters of the Murther, chose to dye, and be hung up in Chains upon the place, rather then confess the sinfulness of the action, by acknowledging it was a Murther or a Sin.

The Fanatical Party, foretold it in several places, and the Morning before it was committed, one of the Assassins like a Jesuit Consecrated to an Heroical Act, after a solemn Sacrilegious form, held up his hand

hand, and ſwore, that *That hand ſhould kill the Arch-Prelate*; upon which the Holy Siſter his Hoſteſs, kiſſed him. And it is notoriouſly known in *Scotland*, that he, who commanded the foot for Mr. *Welſh* upon *Reupar Law (that famous Field Conventicle)* owned that their Friends thanked God for the Archbiſhops death, which neither they nor their abetters in either Kingdom will call Murther, when they have occaſion to Speak thereof.

My Author goes further, and ſhews how the Predeceſſors of theſe Godly Cut-throats *Norman Leſly*, *John Leſley*, *Peter Carmichael* and *James Meluil* Aſſaſſinated Cardinal *Beton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* in his Caſtle there in cold blood, gravely, and with the preface of an harangue; which *Knox* commends, calling the Principal Murtherer, *a Meek man of God:* an odd kind of Presbyterian meekneſs which our Saviour doth not commend.

From thence he deſcends, and ſhews their Principles both Anicent and Modern, upon which they build theſe bloody practiſes. He tells as Goodman *Knox*'s Companion in his Diſcourſe of Tyranny and Popery, *pag.* 30. hath theſe words, *All men are bound to ſee the Laws of God kept, and to ſuppreſs and reſiſt Idolatry by force.* Nor is it ſufficient for Subjects not to obey the wicked Commands of Princes; *but they muſt reſiſt them, and deliver the Children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver a Sheep that is indanger to be devoured by a Wolf.* And if the Magiſtrates refuſe to put Maſſ-mongers and Falſe Preachers (now all Biſhops and Church-miniſters in their eſteem are ſuch) to death, the people *in ſeeing it performed*, ſhew that zeal of God which was commended in *Phineas.*

Hence

Hence all Kirk Writers ſince his Majeſties Return, ſuch as *Napthali*, *Jus populi*, *The Apologetical Narration*, *The Poor mans Cup*, *The Hiſtory of the Indulgence* (as he tells us) call the Biſhops *Apoſtates*, *Perjured Prelates*, *a perjured Fraternity*; *Traitors to Chriſt*, *Enemies to his people*, *Idolaters*, *Backſliders*. All which is meant of forſaking the Covenant, and Presbyterian Government, and is the very Language they murthered the Archbiſhop with; which ſhews they were not Jeſuits but arrant Presbyterians that did the Wicked fact; and my ſaid Author quotes this Paſſage from *Jus Populi*, *pag.* 415. *The fact of* Phineas *was a Laudable Act of juſtice*, *and a precedent for Judges and Magiſtrates in all times coming*, *and that by his Example any Member of the Council* (*for Phineas roſe from among the Congregation*) *might lawfully riſe up and execute judgment on this wicked Wretch* (*the Archbiſhop*) *and his curſed Fraternity*, *who have brought by their Apoſtacy and defection from the Covenant*, *and cauſe of God*, *the wrath of God upon the Land.*

For the reſt, I ſhall refer my Reader to that ingenious Author, from whom I had not Tranſcribed all this, but to prompt others to read him, and to Supply that Defect to them who cannot get that Book.

The news of this Execrable and Barbarous Murther, was ſoon diffuſed all over *England*, and it may be all the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, and entertained by all People who were not poiſoned with this Presbyterian Leven, with horror and deteſtation. The reſt began to qualify and allay it, with ill Characters of the poor man; or to divert it from the right Agents, by laying it one while upon the Jeſuits, and another while upon the Tenants of the Archbiſhop.

But they foreſaw theſe things would not do their buſineſs, and therefore their friends in *London* did what they could to inſtigate an Addreſs againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, which was the man they moſt hated and feared of all the world, and who if he were not removed would certainly proſecute and revenge this Murther; now ſo it fell out, that though not upon their ſollicitation, there was an Addreſs Voted the *6th.* of *May*, which paſs'd the Eighth.

The Addreſs which I think fit to be inſerted here was as followeth.

We your Majeſties moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, finding your Majeſties Kingdoms involved in eminent Dangers, and great difficulties, by the evil deſigns, and pernicious Counſels of ſome, who have been, and are in high places of truſt and Authority about your Royal Perſon: who contrary to the duty of their places by their Arbitrary and Deſtructive Counſels, tending to the ſubverſions of the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of your Subjects, and the alteration of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſht, have endeavoured to alienate the Hearts of your Loyal Subjects from your Majeſty, and your Government. Amongſt whom, we have juſt reaſon to accuſe John *Duke of* Lauderdale, *for a chief Promoter of ſuch Counſels, and more particularly for contriving and endeavouring to raiſe jealouſies and miſunderſtandings between your Majeſties Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *whereby Hoſtilities might have enſued, and may ariſe between both Nations if not prevented.*

Wherefore we your Majeſties Loyal Subjects could not but be ſenſibly affected with trouble to find ſuch a Perſon (notwithſtanding the repeated Addreſſes of the laſt Parliament) continued in your Counſels at this time, when the affaires of your Kingdom require none to be put into ſuch imployments,

ployments, but ſuch as are men of known abilities, Intereſt and eſteem in the Nation, without all ſuſpition of either miſtaking, or betraying the true intereſt of the Kingdom, and conſequently of adviſing your Majeſty ill. We do therefore moſt humbly beſeech your moſt ſacred Majeſty for the taking away the great Jealouſies, Diſſatisfactions, and Fears amongſt your good Subjects, that your Majeſty will gratiouſly be pleaſed to remove the Duke of Lauderdale *from your Majeſties Counſels in your Majeſties Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *and from all offices, imployments and places of truſt, and from your Majeſties Preſence for ever.*

This Addreſs they preſented to his Majeſty the day following, to which his Majeſty replyed he would conſider of it, and return an Anſwer.

But in the mean time, it was doubtleſs ſent after the Speech into *Scotland*, where it found all things rather neceſſitated to a Rebellion than diſpoſed, the Murther of ſo illuſtrious a Perſon as the Primate of that Kingdom, and one of his Majeſties Privy Counſel there, was a Villany not to be ſmothered. And the Proclamation publiſhed the day after the fact, for the diſcovery and apprehending of the Aſſaſſines, repreſenting the Act (as it deſerved with great deteſtation) had further allarm'd the whole Party; who had as they thought, no other way to eſcape the deſerved revenge, but by juſtifying the Murther with a Rebellion. And finding by this Addreſs, that the Houſe of Commons in *England* were in this critical moment, preſſing upon their dreadful Enemy the Duke of *Lauderdale*, they took it for granted, God had eſpouſed their cauſe; and if they could make a head in *Scotland*, they ſhould be ſeconded out of *England*, hoping perhaps to be as well rewarded for this, as they were for beginning the former Rebellion,

and ſo being puſhed forward by their deſtiny and deſperation on they went.

On *Tueſday*, the 27*th* of *May* 1679, The Parliament was prorogued; and the *Thurſday* following, which was the 29*th* of the ſame month, the *Scotch* Covenanters who knew nothing of it, began their Rebellion at *Ragland* in *Scotland*, to which place about fourſcore men well mounted and armed, came and proclaimed the Covenant, and burnt ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and affixed this following Declaration on the Market Croſs.

As the Lord had been pleaſed ſtill to keep and preſerve his Intereſt in the Land, by the Teſtimony of ſome faithful Witneſſes from the beginning, ſo in our days ſome have not been wanting, who through the greateſt of Hazards, had added their Teſtimonies to theſe who have gone before them, by ſuffering death, Baniſhment, Torturings, Finings, Forfeitures, impriſonments, &c. *Flowing from cruel and perfidious Adverſaries to the Church and Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the Land. Therefore we owning the Intereſt of Chriſt according to the word of the Lord, and the* National and Solemn League and Covenant, *deſire to add our Teſtamony to the Teſtimonies of the Worthies that has gone before (though unworthy, yet hoping as true Members of the Church of Chriſt in* Scotland) *and that againſt all things that has been done prejudicial to his intereſt, from the beginning of the work of Reformation in* Scotland; *eſpecially from the year* 1648, *to the year* 1660, *againſt theſe following Acts.*

1. The Act of Supremacy.

2. The Declaration whereby the *Covenants* are condemned.

3. The Act for Everſion of the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church, and for eſtabliſhing Prelacy,

lacy, and for the Outing of Chriſts Miniſters, who could not conform thereto, by an Act Reſciſſory of all Acts of Parliament and Aſſemblies for the Eſtabliſhment of the Covernment of the Church of *Scotland*, according to the Word.

4. As likewiſe the Act of Council at *Glaſgow*, putting that Act reciſſory in execution, where at one time, were violently caſt out above three hundred Miniſters, without any Legal procedures.

5. As likewiſe the Act, appointing a Holy Anniverſary Day to be kept, upon the *29th* of *May*, for giving thanks for the upſetting of an uſurping Power, deſtroying the Intereſt of the Church in the Land, which is to ſet up the Creature to be worſhipped in the room of our Great Redeemer, and to conſent to the aſſuming of the power that is proper to the Lord alone, for the appointing Ordinances in his Church, as particularly the Government thereof, and the keeping of *Holy-days*, and all other ſinful and unlawful Acts Emitted and Executed by them.

And for Confirmation of this our Teſtimony, we do hereby this day, being the 29th day of May, *1679, Publickly burn them at the Croſs of* Ragland *moſt Juſtly; as they perfidiouſly and Blaſphemouſly had burnt our Holy Covenants, through ſeveral Cities of the Covenanted Kingdoms. We judge none will take exception at our not ſubſcribing this our Teſtimouy, being ſo ſolemnly gone about; for we are ready always to do it, if judged neceſſary, with all the faithful ſuffering Brethren in the Land.*

They intended to have affixed this Declaration at *Glaſgow* too, but were prevented by the Kings Forces there.

On the *Sunday* following, they Rendevouſed upon *Loudon*.

Loudon Hill being then. 14, or 1500 men, well armed and in good order, the foot commanded by one *Weir*, and the Horſe by *Robert Hamilton*, one *Patron*, *Balfour* and *Hackſton*; (theſe two laſt being of the number of them that murthered the Arch-biſhop, and conſequently moſt concerned to carry the Rebellion as far as they could;) being thus diſpoſed and Ordered, one Captain *Graham* of *Claver* Houſe, marched againſt them with a troop of Horſe, and a Company of Dragoons, upon whoſe approach, the Rebels ſent out two Parties to Skirmiſh with him, which he beat into their main body; and then they advanced with their whole force upon him: So that after a conſiderable ſlaughter of them, and the loſs of his Cornet, two Brigadiers, and about eight Horſe, and twenty Dragoons (his own horſe being killed under him, and he mounting another) being ſo much over-powered in number, he made his retreat towards *Glaſgow*, being in his way forced to fight his way through the Townſmen of *Strewin*, who were got together to oppoſe it, leaving ten, or twelve of them dead upon the place.

On *Munday* the Second day of *June*, the Rebells in the morning attacked the City of *Glaſgow*, at two ſeveral times, but all the Streets were ſo well Barracadoed by the Lord *Roſs*, and the Souldiers there put into ſo good a poſture, that they were beat off with conſiderable loſs, beſides many Priſoners that were taken, and thereupon the Horſe and Dragoons in the Town ſallied out, and purſued them upon their drawing off.

In the Interim, the Council of *Scotland*, having firſt given an account of this Rebellion to his Majeſty, publiſhed a Proclamation for the ſuppreſſion of it; and that failing, Levied what forces they could

to

to oppoſe them, by which means they were kept together, not daring to part to plunder; and their Number was alſo kept from increaſing as otherwiſe it might have done. But yet the Council knowing the Rebels could not continue long together, would not fight them till his Majeſty ſhould ſend them orders ſo to do, and a general.

His Majeſty and the Council here reſolved to ſend down his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, who had given good proof of his Courage in *Flanders*, and elſewhere; who undertaking the enterpriſe againſt the Rebels, went poſt into *Scotland* for that purpoſe.

The Rebels in the interim having poſſeſt themſelves of *Glaſgow*, grew inſolent at firſt, and publiſhed a Proclamation in theſe terms.

WE *the Officers of the Covenanted Army, do require and command you the Inhabitants of the Burgh of* Glaſgow, *to furniſh us with Twenty four Carts, and ſixty Baggage Horſes, for removing our Proviſion from this Place to our Camp, whereever we ſhall ſet down the ſame, and to abide with us for that end, during our pleaſure, under the pain of being reputed our Enemies, and proceeded againſt accordingly.*

And another thus.

WE *the Officers of the Covenanted Army, do require and command the Magiſtrates of* Glaſgow, *to Extend and Baniſh forth thereof, all Arch-*

Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Curates, their Wives, Bairns and Servants, and all other families and perſons concern'd in the Kings Army, within eight and forty houres, after the Publiſhing hereof, under the Higheſt pains.

You have ſeen before what bad Subjects they were, and theſe two will ſhow what inſolent Maſters they proved, but their Dominion was not long.

That which firſt amated them, was the news of the Prorogation of the Parliament in *England*, upon which they chiefly depended, and in all probability had never riſen, but that they were forced into a belief, that they were ſure on that ſide: not that I think the Parliament would have been any way ſerviceable to them, but they were made to believe ſo in *Scotland*, where any thing that looked that way, was magnified above its real bigneſs. But that being gone, and the reſt of *Scotland* continuing quiet, or Arming againſt them, and their friends in *Edenborough*, being kept from joyning with them; they began to ſuſpect the worſt, and ſo fell a little from their firſt fury, and publiſhed this ſecond Declaration for their Vindication.

AS it is not unknown to a great part of the World, how happy the Church of Scotland *was, whilſt they enjoyed the Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt in purity and power; of which we have been deplorably deprived by the eſtabliſhment of Prelacy: So it is Evident not only to impartial perſons, but*

*but to professed Enemies, with what unparallel'd patience and constancy the People of God have endured all the Cruelty, Injustice and Oppression that the Will and Malice of Prelates and Malignants could invent and exercise. And being most unwilling to Act any thing which might import opposition to Lawful Authority, or engage the Kingdom in a War, although we have all along been groaning under the overturning the work of Reformation, Corruptions of Doctrine, Slighting of Worship, Despising of Ordinances, the changing the Antient Church Discipline and Government, Thrusting out so many of our faithful Ministers from their Charges, Confining, streightly Imprisoning, exiling yea and putting to death many of them, and intruding upon their Flocks, a company of insufficient and scandalous persons, and Fining, Confining, Imprisoning, Torturing, Tormenting, Scourging and Stigmatizing poor people, Plundring their Goods, Quartering upon them rude Souldiers, Selling their persons to forreign Plantations, * Horning and Intercommuning many of both, whereby great Numbers in every Corner of the Land, were forced to leave their Dwellings, Wives, Children, and Relations, and made to wander as Pilgrims still in hazard of their Lives; none daring to reset, harbour or supply (though starving) or so much*

* *Horning* is Out-Lawing. There is nothing like intercommuning with us; for if any man hold any correspondency with the offender, he is to be adjudged a Rebel of the same guiltiness; all which severities they themselves first set up and practised against others.

The Burthen of Issachar. Printed 1646. *pag.* 41, 42.

much as to ſpeak to them, even upon death bed, without making themſelves obnoxious to the ſame puniſhments, and theſe things Acted under coulour of Law, in effect tending to baniſh not only all ſenſe of Religion, but alſo to extinguiſh Natural affection, even amongſt perſons of the neareſt Relations, and likewiſe groaning under the intollerable Yoak of Oppreſſion in our Civil Intereſts, our Bodies, Liberties and Eſtates. So that all manner of outrages have been moſt arbitrarily exerciſed upon us through a tract of ſeveral years paſt; particularly in the year 1678, by ſending among us an Armed Hoſt of Barbarous Savages, contrary to all Laws and Humanity; and by laying on us ſeveral Impoſitions and Taxes, as formerly. So of late by a meeting of Prelimited and Over-awed Members in the Convention of Eſtates in July 1678, for keeping up of an Armed Force intruſted (as to a great part of it) into the hands of avowed Papiſts, or favourers of them; by whom ſundry Invaſions have been made upon us, and moſt exorbitant abuſes, and incredible Inſolencies committed againſt us, and we being continually ſought after, while meeting in Houſes for divine Worſhip, Miniſters and People frequently apprehended, and moſt rigorouſly uſed; and ſo being neceſſitated to attend the Lords Ordinances in Fields, in the moſt deſart places; and there alſo often hunted out, and aſſaulted, to the effuſion of our bloud, and killing

of

of ſome, whereby we were inevitably conſtrained either to defend our ſelves by Arms at theſe meetings, or to be altogether deprived of the Goſpel preached by faithful Miniſters, and made abſolute Slaves: At one of which Meetings, upon the firſt of June *inſtant, Captain* Graham *of* Claver *Houſe, being Warranted by a late Proclamation, to kill whomever be found in Arms, at Field Conventicles, making reſiſtance, did furiouſly aſſault the people aſſembled; and further to provoke, did cruelly bind like Beaſts, a Miniſter, with ſome others, whom he had that very ſame Morning found in Houſes: and ſeveral being kill'd on both ſides; they knowing certainly, that* by Law *they behoved (if apprehended) to die; they did ſtand to their own defence, and continue together; and there after many of our Friends and Countrymen being under the ſame oppreſſion, expecting the ſame meaſure, did freely offer their aſſiſtance. We therefore thus inevitably, and of abſolute Neceſſity forced to take this laſt Remedy; (the Magiſtrates having ſhut the Door by a Law againſt application, that what ever our Grievances be, either in things Civil or Sacred, we have not the Priviledge of a Supplicant) do judg our ſelves bound to declare, That theſe with many other Horrid Grievances in Church and State (which we purpoſe to Manifeſt hereafter) are the true Cauſes of this our lawful and innocent ſelf-defence. And we do moſt ſolemnly in the*

preſence of Almighty God the Searcher of all hearts, declare, That the true reaſons of our continuing in Arms, candidly and ſincerely are theſe.

1. *The defending and ſecuring of the true Proteſtant Religion, and Presbyterian Government; founded upon the word of God, and ſummarily comprehended in our Confeſsions of faith, and Catechiſms, and Eſtabliſhed by the Laws of this Land. To which Kings, Nobles, and People, are ſolemnly ſworn and engaged in our National and Solemn League and Covenant; and more particularly, the defending and maintaining the Kingly Authority of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt over his Church, againſt all ſinful Supremacy derogatory thereto, and encroaching thereupon.*

2. *The preſerving and defending the Kings Majeſty, his Perſon and Authority, in preſervation and defence of that true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom, that the World may bear Witneſs with our Conſciences, of our Loyalty; and that we have no thoughts or intention to diminiſh his juſt Power and Greatneſs.*

3. *The Obtaining of a free and Unlimited Parliament, and a free General Aſſembly, in Order to the Redreſſing our foreſaid Grievances for preventing the eminent danger of Popery, and Extirpating of Prelacy from amongſt us.*

This therefore being the cauſe we appear for, and reſolve in Gods great Name to own, thereby Homologating all the Teſtimonies of faithful Sufferers for the truth in Scotland *theſe eighteen years by gone. We humbly requeſt the Kings Majeſty would reſtore all things as he found them, when God brought him home to his Crown and Kingdoms; and if that cannot be obtained, then we heartily and humbly invite, intreat, beſeech and obteſt in the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, all who are under the ſame* * *Bonds with us, to occur in the Defence of this Countrey, Cauſe and Intereſt. And that they will not ſtand ſtill and ſee not only us oppreſſed, but this foreſaid cauſe ruined; Adverſaries highly and proudly inſult againſt God, and all good Friends of the truth diſcouraged. Yea, the Proteſtant Cauſe in* Britain *and* Ireland, *and even your ſelves within a little time made a Prey of, or elſe forced when we are Broken (which the good Lord prevent) dreadfully to wrong your Conſciences. Finally, becauſe we deſire no mans hurt or blood, We requeſt our Countrey men, now the ſtanding Forces of this Kingdom, ſome of them being our Friends and Kinſmen, not to fight againſt us; leaſt in ſo doing, they be found fighting againſt the Lord; whoſe cauſe and quarrel we are ſure he will own and ſignally*

They are much more honeſt and ingenuous than our Diſſenters, for that they ſpeak frankly and freely what they mean to do; which the other deny in words, and proſecute in deeds as much as the *Scots*, as far as they durſt.

* That is the Obligation of the Covenant.

nally countenance, seeing we fight under his Banner, who is the Lord of Hosts.

I have taken the pains to transcribe this Long Declaration, not for any delight I take in it, but because it is an undeniable instance and demonstration, that the Kirk-men in *Scotland* did then intend to have renewed that War again that formerly brought this Nation to the very brink of Ruine, and was the means of the Barbarous Murther of his Majesties Father, of the Banishment of our King and his Brothers and Sisters for twelve years; of the expence of 48 Millions of Money and Plate, and of the loss of one hundred thousand Lives by Fire, Sword and Famine: All which calamities were begun and carried on by these very men first in *Scotland*, by the incouragement of some factious men of our own Nation, and afterwards here in *England*, upon the same pretences. As any man may remember that is but fifty years old, and the rest may see by comparing this Declaration with those that were made then; and therefore I cannot but admire the Providence of God in preventing this Presbyterian Plot, by a Prorogation in the very nick of time, without which this Rebellion would in all likely-hood have had much countenance from some in *England*, who encouraged it Underhand, upon pretences of Countenance from above, how groundless soever; nor had it ended as it did, and where it did, if they had got the first battel, or but been able to have kept the Field.

But for the benefit of my Country Reader, who is not acquainted with the affairs of *Scotland*, let me observe two or three things for the better understanding of this Grand Cheat, and without which this doleful

ful Story may leave great impreſſions of pity upon the mind of an *Engliſh*-man, which theſe bloudy Rebels of all the world do not deſerve.

The Reader then ſhall be pleaſed to underſtand, that beſides this Rebellion; there was a former one at *Pentland* Hills, where theſe Covenanteers fought the Kings Forces in ranged Battel in *1666*, and in many of their Field Conventicles, there was weekly Meetings of Hundreds and Thouſands of Armed men formed into Troops and Companies, ready upon all occaſions of probable capacity to fight againſt the King, for the King in *Sion*. And in *1676*, they appeared ſo numerous, that the Privy Council of *Scotland* adviſed his Majeſty to ſend *Engliſh* Forces to lie in readineſs upon the Borders, and to order Viſcount *Granard* to lie with an Army on the *Iriſh* Coaſts, ready to be tranſported upon occaſion; and likewiſe upon the Motion of the Marqueſs of *Athol*, to procure the Lords of the *Highlands* a Commiſſion to march with their Vaſſals under the Command of his Majeſties Major General into the Weſt, which deſcent of the *Highlanders* is mentioned in the Declaration, and Aggravated beyond truth or reaſon, by ſtiling them Barbarians; which thoſe that knew theſe men aver they were not, (but behaved themſelves very civilly) to prevent the Field Conventicles from running together into a general Rebellion; as they did this *May*. But to come to particulars, they had a Field-faſt near *Iedburgh* in *Tiveotdale* toward the latter end of *March* 1678, where there were preſent 7 Preachers and 5000 people (the men being armed) to ſeek God for three things. 1. *That he would be pleaſed to put an end to the perſecution of his people in that Kingdom.* 2*ly*, *That he would have*

mercy

mercy on all those that took the wicked Bond, (that was not to suffer any Conventicles on their Lands) and give them grace to repent. 3ly, That he would bless with success those Noble Lords that were gone to London *(to complain of the Duke of* Lauderdale, *and who procured the first Address against him, though to no purpose.)* There was another in the *March*, the *May* following, where were assembled eight or 9000 People to receive the Sacrament, and renew the solemn League and Covenant, of which the Privy Council gave his Majesty an account. And another near *Dumbar* shortly after, where they fell upon the Kings forces of the *Basse*, that went out to dismiss them; and killed one of the Souldiers, and wounded more. Finally, my Author who is a learned Gentleman, saith, *if he should go on to enumerate all the Field Meetings, till that great one, which began the Rebellion this* May, *he might write a History.* [*The Spirit of Popery, speaking out of the Mouths of Phanatical Protestants; or the last Speeches of* John Kid *and* John King, *&c. pag.* 11.

The matter of fact being thus stated, the Reader need not wonder they were severely treated, when they suffered the pains of Treason and Rebellion; but besides those, they had committed a vast number of Massacres and Assassinations before they murthered the Primate, and this aggravated their sufferings. Now all the cunning of this Declaration lies in this, that they tell us what they suffered; and perhaps truly, but not a tittle of the case. Which is just as if all the Rogues in the Nation, should joyn and pen a complaint, ennumerating how many of them, since his Majesties Return, have been Hanged, Quartered, Whipped, Branded, Transported, Pillored, Imprisoned,

Impriſoned, which never meant any hurt to his Majeſty or the Government, but only to get a Living the beſt and eaſieſt way they could. Now to one that is as little vers'd in our ways of Puniſhment as we are in the *Scotch*, it would ſeem a rueful Story; whileſt an *Engliſh* man would ſmile, as knowing why they ſuffered all theſe hardſhips. I need not apply it, but ſhall add this, they have deſerved ten times more then they have felt, as being the bloudieſt Cut-throats in the world. So that in *Scotland* no man dare to offend them openly for fear of aſſaſſination, but ſuch as either muſt by the neceſſity of their places, or elſe have good means of defending their Lives againſt them.

Next I obſerve this Declaration is nothing but a large flouriſh upon the Speech, and drawn juſt at that looſe general rate which that is, calling thoſe Taxes and Puniſhments Arbitrary, which they acknowledg were according to ſeveral Acts of Parliament; and then pretending the perſons that do conſtitute their Parliaments or States, are overawed. But then I muſt commend their ingenuity in this, that they do not (with the Commons of *England*) lay the blame of all this upon the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or their Miniſters, but upon the total change of their Government and State both Sacred and Civil, and upon the Parliament of *Scotland* and the King; whom they ſupplicate with menaces to reſtore him into the ſame State he found them in; without which they were ſenſible, the removing of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or any other of the great Miniſters of State would ſignify nothing as to their Deſigns: which was as they plainly tell us, to ſet up the Presbyterian Doctrine and Church Government, to ſerve the King in nothing elſe, any further then he would ſerve them

in that. And laſtly to obtain a free and unlimited Parliament and Aſſembly, that is ſuch as it might not be in his Majeſties power to diſſolve or fruſtrate by prorogation; till they had extirpated Popery and Prelacy both together, which was freely and roundly to tell us what they would have, without canting and amuſing us with general terms and hints, but then I muſt not deny they had ſwords by their ſides to juſtify theſe demands, which our Gentlemen want, and I wiſh ever may do; but yet the Reader may obſerve that Speech that was ſo hugged in *England*, and the *Scotch* Declaration meant the ſame thing, though in different terms.

Obſerve alſo, that they call *the Presbyterian Doctrine and Government*, the Religion eſtabliſhed; though they own it to be taken away by a reſciſſory Act of Parliament; for they believe all thoſe Acts that have or ſhall be made againſt it, are Null and Void, and the former Acts are ſtill in force though repealed: which is an odd ſort of Eſtabliſhment, conſiſting in the fancy of the people that own it, and not in Law or Nature.

They lay the ſtreſs of their Juſtification upon neceſſity, and yet own the greateſt part of it to ariſe from hence; that they muſt be deprived of the Goſpel preached by the faithful Miniſters, and be made Slaves, if they did not rebel. Now as to their civil intereſt, they would be in the ſame State with their Country men, who are ſo far from rebelling, that they have ſeveral times chaſtiſed them for it, with a very little aſſiſtance from *England*. And as to their Preachments, I wonder in what part of the Goſpel they learned to defend Chriſts Religion by rebellion;

bellion; but we muſt know this is pure *Scotch*, Calviniſtical, Jeſuitical Doctrine, begun by the Devil and his Vicar the Pope, not many hundred years ago: and for which *Bellarmine* acknowledges, there is neither Precept nor Example in the Bible, nor in all Church Hiſtory till near a thouſand years after our Saviour's time; and he gives this reaſon why the Goſpel taught patience and ſubmiſſion, becauſe the contrary would have ruined Chriſtianity then, when but a few profeſſed it, but tells us St. *Paul* would have taught otherwiſe if he had lived in our days. I ſhall not diſpute how the Cardinal or the *Scotch* Gentlemen (who talk at the ſame rate) came to know this, but I ſay, it is equally deſtructive of any other Doctrine a man hath no mind to practiſe; as of this of ſubmiſſion to Princes, and ſuffering patiently for the truth without reſiſtance. As ſuppoſe I have a mind to revenge, and they tell me of the Doctrine of meekneſs, and forgiving injuries and Enemies; if I reply, this Doctrine was adopted to the Infant ſtate of Chriſtianity, when Profeſſors were few, and expoſed to perſecution, and could have got nothing by revenging their quarrels but ruine; but the ſtate of things is otherwiſe now, and I may revenge my ſelf with ſecurity both as to my ſelf, and as to my Religion; and from thence infer that that Doctrine is ceaſed, and I am at liberty to do in that particular as I ſee cauſe; and that St. *Paul* would have taught ſo if he had lived in theſe times, I ſay if I ſhould argue thus upon their principles, it could never be anſwered, and a man might ſay as much for any other Goſpel precept, he had no mind to obey.

But to return. The Covenanters in their first Declaration, date the rise of all their troubles from the year 1648, and that is true and worth a Note. You must know *Charles* the first had given them by the pacification all that they asked, and the long Rebel Parliament had sent them home loaden with thanks, Money and the spoils of *England* before our wars began *, but things going ill on the Parliament side, after the King had routed *Waller* in the West, and almost totally subdued the North by the valour of the E. of *Newcastle*; the Parliament having no other way to turn them, were forced to call in the *Scots* once more with Money and Promises, yea and Oaths too, to settle the Presbyterian Church Government here in *England*. These two things prevailing upon them, in they came, and that ruined the King and his Party, who at last surrendring himself to the *Scots*, they dutifully sold him to the Parliament for 300000 *lb.* as all the World knows; but the Chapmen fell out, and Independency prevailing at the same time in *England*, on it went with the same force, and ruined the poor Kirk of *Scotland*, and made this Covenanting Nation, the veriest Slaves in the world; and ever since, Presbytery there as well as in *England* have been in a feeble state: and they were oppreſt in their civil Interests, Liberties and Freedoms, and made such Slaves by a standing Army of *English*, and two Forts which his Majesty hath since demolished, that a *Scot* in those days durst not have walked (as I have been told) with a Cudgel in his hand, and Parliament, general Assembly, or any other Convention, they were never to have more, nor any other Addres but what they got *by most humble Supplication, only they had no Bishops, so that if his Majesty should restore*

A View of the late Troubles. cap. 18.

reſtore all things as he found them, when God brought him home to his Crown and Kingdoms, the *Scots* would have no reaſon to thank him for the favour.

But in the interim, I wonder they can reflect thus upon the time, when their calamities began, which was the very year they ſold his Majeſties Father into the hands of his Enemies, who baſely murthered him; and not be confounded with horror and ſhame at the Villany they then did; nor yet reflect upon the Juſtice of God which hath purſued them ever ſince through all the changes that have happened, and having firſt made their dear Covenanting Brethren of *England* to begin the Chaſtiſement of them, hath gone on from time to time, to baffle all their attempts to recover their Loſt Eſtate; and they have reaſon to believe he will do ſo, till the opinions and perſons of that ſchiſmatical Confederacy be rooted out of the World.

And here let our *Engliſh* Diſſenters too be pleaſed to remember, they have done worſe then the *Scots*; for they murthered that Prince which the *Scots* only ſold, and by how much they have ſmarted leſs then the *Scots*, ſo much the more is behind, and the Juſtice of God will not be reſtrained by the Act of Indemnity, but he will certainly recompenſe them according to their deſerts, with ſo much the greater ſeverity, becauſe they have abuſed the Lenity of his Anointed and his long-ſuffe-rance.

I ſhall add but one word more, and then ſee the Cataſtrophe of theſe Rebells; and that is an humble Requeſt to the Loyal *Scots*, that they would

not

not take this amiss, for I heartily applaud their fidelity to his Majesty, and acknowledge they deserve to partake of his Royal bounty and Princely favour equally with the *English*; and I wish them all that prosperity and happiness they can desire: for they are no otherwise concerned in the Covenanters, then the Church of *England* men are in the evil Actions of the *English* Dissenters.

The 20*th* of *June*, the Duke of *Monmouth* who went Post into *Scotland* for that Service, went to the Army which the Council of *Scotland* had prepared for him, which lay then at a place called *Blackburn*, where he viewed and muster'd all the Forces, and put all things in a readiness to encamp, the next day he marched with his Army to *Moorhead*, and the day following to *Bothwell* bridge. Where the Enemy lay about eight Miles distant from his second Camp.

The place where they then were, was called *Hamilton* Park, and was well chosen, if it had or could have been well defended; for there was no passage to it but over *Bothwell* bridge, which they had well lined with Musqueteers, and Barricadoed with Stones, Cart Wheels, and the like.

The Dukes Army marched in great silence and Order, and had been upon the Rebels before they had taken the Allarm; but that their foremost Guards discovered them by the light of their Matches. And so they put themselves into a posture of Defence.

The

The Duke found the Rebels in two Bodies, half a Mile one from the other; the foremoſt Party which was the weakeſt in Number, lay near the Bridge, the other near their Camp, as high as the liitle Park; where they ſtood in their Orders and Ranks.

Major *Oglethorp*, poſted himſelf upon the firſt approach near the Bridge, with the Dragoons, and the reſt of the Dukes Army drew up, upon a Hill fronting *Hamilton* Park, about a mile from the Bridge; the River being between the two Armies.

As ſoon as the Duke came to Major *Oglethorp*'s Poſt, there came out to him from the Rebels, one *David Haine*, and another of their Preachers, who preſented to his Grace, the Declaration I have recited, Printed, and a Petition ſigned by *Robert Hamilton* their General, in the name of the Covenanted Army then in Arms; in which they prayed *that the Terms of their Declaration might be made good, and that a ſafe Conduct might be granted to ſome of their Number, to addreſs themſelves to his Grace in this Matter.*

To which the Duke replyed, *that he would not treat with them upon their Declaration, the terms of which were contrary to the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and ſuch as he would not, nor could grant*; as indeed they were too high to have been offered after a Victory; much more in the firſt approaches of a General, with a better though ſmaller Army then theirs. But then he told them, *that if they would lay down their Armes, he would receive them into the*

King's

Kings mercy. And with this Anſwer the two Preachers went back, deſiring ſome time to conſider; which the Duke granted them.

About half an hour after, the Rebels ſent a Paper by a Drummer, repreſenting that they were informed that his Grace came from *England*, with terms to be offered to them, and they deſired to know what he had to propoſe, that they might adviſe whether the Terms were ſuch as they could accept of.

Whether this were ſo or no, it was very imprudent in them, to ſend this Meſſage before they had excuſed themſelves in relation his firſt demands; and beſides, this was a mighty ſlight to the General to demand an account of his private Inſtructions by a Drummer with a Paper; when as it had been fitter to have ſent two or three of the beſt Gentlemen in their Army to have asked this favour, with all the Courtſhip imaginable; though their Forces had been much ſtronger then they were. For this indeed was it that made them thus inſolent, their Preachers had doubtleſs informed them, that the Dukes Army was leſs then theirs; as it is ſaid it was. And hence they concluded very ignorantly, they might ask what they pleaſed, and have it.

The Duke was not idle all this while, but had ordered his Canon to be brought down from the Body of the Army, and Planted near the Bridge, and with them he had Drawn down ſome part of his Horſe and Foot, whilſt they were treating, and took no notice of what he did, or at leaſt did not oppoſe

oppoſe it, ſo they were every moment in a worſe condition ~~and he was in a worſe condition~~, and he in a better.

So that being netled with this contempt of theirs, he ſent away their Drummer with this anſwer, *that ſince they had not ſatisfied him, but rather trifled, he would receive no more meſſages from them.* And to ſhew them he was in Earneſt, whatever they were, commanded his Cannon to fire; which it no ſooner did, but the Rebels who were drawn up on the other ſide upon a riſing ground near the Bridge, threw themſelves upon the ground to avoid the ſhot. But thoſe that were placed upon the Bridge, fired at firſt pretty briskly, but after five or ſix Cannon ſhot they ran away, thoſe on the riſing ground beginning firſt; as they were a ſort of tumultuous people fitter to begin then carry on a War.

The Dukes men immediately ſeized the Bridge, and threw into the River their Barracadoes; where they took the only piece of Cannon they had, of which they had made no uſe; and then followed them up the Hill: but their Number being very ſmall, the Rebels rallied, and faced them, but had not the courage to come down upon them. So the Dukes Party returned back again to the Bridge, and one ſhot of Cannon more, made the Rebels flie to their main Body, where they ſtood again. By which, one may ſee here was neither courage nor conduct in theſe men or their Commanders.

In the mean time, the General paſſed the Army over the Bridge, and drew it up upon the riſing ground which took ſome time, and at laſt a little before they were quite in Order, the Rebels advanced upon the Army in very good order; but ſpying

the Cannon in the head of the Dukes Army, they immediately ſhifted their Order and opened in the middle, thinking it ſeems they were obliged to ſhoot ſtreight forward, but the Cannon being turn'd upon them as they then ſtood, and diſcharged three or four times, they began to run again; their Commander *Robert Hamilton* being one of the firſt; and the Dukes Dragoons and the Highlanders Advancing upon them in this Confuſion, it was a perfect Rout, and they fled all ways; the Dukes men purſuing them. In this Skirmiſh there were killed 7, or 800, and Eleven or 1200 taken Priſoners. The Horſe were wholly broken, and thoſe of the Foot that eſcaped, fled immediately to the Wood in *Hamilton* Park; where the only care was to ſecure them from flying. To which purpoſe his Grace drew up his Forces, and ſurrounded the Park, and ſent Collonel *Duglas* with a detacht Party to ferret them out of the Wood. Of the Dukes Party few men were loſt.

The next day, the Duke ſent out ſeveral Parties to purſue thoſe that were fled; marching himſelf with the Army to a Village within two miles of *Streuine*; and the twenty fourth of *June*, ſent all the priſoners which were ſaid to be 11, or 1200, under the Guard of two Militia-Regiments, and Captain *Strathan*'s Troop of Dragoons to *Edenborough*; the Magiſtrates of which place, undertook to ſecure them with the Town Guards; and accordingly put them into an incloſure with high Walls round it, at the Back of the *Gray Fryers* Church.

The next day, the Duke returned to *Edenborough*, to conſult with the Lords of the Council how to diſpoſe of the Heretors and Militia-Regiments that had ſerved.

ſerved his Majeſty on that occaſion againſt the Rebels, as alſo of thoſe that were then on their march from the ſeveral Shires; ſeeing there was then no need of their further Service. Which affair being ordered, together with ſuch other as he thought moſt neceſſary, he took Poſt-Horſes, and returned to *London*.

Thus ended the *Scotch* Rebellion, with the Common fate of ſuch ill grounded enterpriſes; it made them weaker and more hated, and ſtrengthened and confirmed the lawful Authority of his Majeſty; it being the nature of the Vulgar to loath and deſpiſe the Innocent when unfortunate; much more Rebels and Traitors.

But then theſe Zealots like their Predeceſſors who ruined the *Jews*, and *Joſephus* informs us, by their cruelty and furious bloody devotion, had beſpoke the deteſtation of all ſober men; not only by their barbarous aſſaſſination of the Primate, which was the occaſion of this Rebellion, but alſo by their inſolence and unaccountable rage and madneſs during the ſhort time it laſted. Of which I will give a few inſtances.

They Barbarouſly treated the dead Body of one *Graham* an Officer, whom they killed at that Conventicle which began the Rebellion upon the account of his Name only. They committed inſufferable Inſolences in the Houſes of the Regular Miniſters and Loyal Gentlemen as they marched along the Countrey to *Glaſgow*, Stabbing, Cutting, and Gaſhing his Majeſties Picture whereſoever they found it; particularly in the Houſe of the Laird of *Hagges*, executing *The Spirit of Popery*. pag. 47.

ting that Treaſon they had entertained in their hearts upon his Effigies, becauſe his Royal Perſon was out of their reach; fooliſhly at once betraying and diſappointing their diſloyal deſigns. They behaved themſelves barbarouſly in the houſe of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, where they burnt his Books, cut in pieces his beſt Hangings and Furniture, and almoſt killed a Gentlewoman with blows, who was left to keep the Houſe, only for ſaying theſe words; *Gentlemen, I hope you'l remember that you are in the Archbiſhops Houſe.* They ſacrilegiouſly entered the Cathedral of *Glaſgow*, and finding a Tomb-ſtone over the Two Children of the Biſhop of *Arguile* with an Inſcription of a Modern date. They digged up their Bodies, run them through with their Swords, and left them lying above the ground.

An Account of the Victory; Printed at London.

And even after they were beaten, one of the Kings Souldiers, going into a Countrey houſe belonging to one of theſe Covenanters for a little Meal, as he ſtooped down to take it out of a Cheſt, was by the Maſter of the Houſe ſtabbed through the Back, for which unmanly Murther, he was immediately apprehended, and ſhot to death. Which (as the Author ſaith) ſhews the cruel and mercileſs diſpoſition of that ſort of people.

To which if you add the two inſolent Proclamations I have mentioned already; it will be no wonder the City of *Edenborough* received the news of their defeat with the greateſt joy imaginable; there being nothing to be heard there, but joyful acclamations, Ringing of Bells, and Roaring of Cannons from the Caſtle, and good ſtore of Bonfires beſides, all men dreading to fall into the hands of ſuch Godly Villains,

Villains, and therefore rejoycing at their Ruine.

And now my dear Country men, if you will but be pleaſed to reflect ſeriouſly and impartially upon what I have written with great pains for your information; I doubt not but you will conclude with me; that as never any Prince treated a People with more Candour and Lenity then his Majeſty did upon this juncture, ſo there were ſome that made very unſuitable returns to his goodneſs; and plainly diſcovered that the peace of the Kingdom, was not ſo truly aimed at by ſome of them, as it was intended by him. Notwithſtanding their loud pretences of preſerving and ſettling the Proteſtant Religion, which is inſeparably annexed to, and bound up in the other. *The Concluſion.*

How far they imploy'd their time in the great concerns of the Nation, how far their Proceedings were calm and peaceable, and how far they tended to the curbing of the motions of thoſe unruly Spirits which did endeavour to diſturb them, I ſhall leave alſo to your and their ſerious thoughts.

I have all along followed the Printed Journal of this Seſſion of Parliament, tranſcribing for the moſt part the very words; except they were too long, and then abbreviating them with all the fidelity imaginable: but when all is done, I adviſe you to read the Original too.

If I ſeem too ſharp in any of my reflections, I deſire you would conſider that it is impoſſible for fleſh and bloud to be unconcerned, when a mans Prince, his Religion, his Liberty, Eſtate, and life is at the Stake; and all in danger to be ruined by the knavery of ſome, and the folly of others.

I have not catched at all opportunities to make them neither; but have left ſcope enough to my Reader to add his own, where I have ſpared mine, which he may do with more ſafety then I can.

And laſtly being ſenſible of the infirmities of mortality in general, and of my own in particular; I ſubmit my ſelf intirely to wiſer men, having had no other deſign in this, then to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, and the Civil Government, as much as in me lieth, by ſhewing how they have been endangered by others beſides the Papiſts, which will appear more fully alſo, if any occaſion ſhall preſent it ſelf, of ſpeaking further upon this Subject hereafter.

FINIS.

The THIRD and LAST Part
OF THE

ADDRESS
TO THE
FREE-MEN
AND
FREE-HOLDERS
OF THE
NATION.

By the same Author.

LONDON,
Printed for *George Wells*, at the *Sun* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1683.

The THIRD and LAST Part

OF THE

ADDRESS

TO THE

FREEMEN

AND

FREEHOLDERS

OF THE

NATION.

To all the Loyal Persons in the Nation, who Addressed to His MAJESTY to Thank Him for His late Gracious DECLARATION.

GENTLEMEN,

THis and the two former Parts of this Work were all written at once, tho they have happened since to be published at several times, and were occasioned by those many Generous and most Loyal Demonstrations you every day then gave of your Attachment to His Majesties Interest, and the Established Government both in Church and State; for the truth is, till I saw you rise up so generally, and declare so heartily what your intentions were, I durst not think of opposing that Torrent, that then seemed to bear down all that stood before it, and threatned the rooting up of the Monarchy.

But when you came forth, and with a Loyalty and Courage becoming English-Men, *tell your Soveraign however you have of late been represented to him and the World, you were resolved to maintain His Royal Authority, the Church and the Government,*

and the Lawful Succession too, in the State they were now Legally setled, against all opposition whatsoever, and to that purpose freely and sincerely offer him your Lives and Fortunes to Command when necessity should require; I then saw there were more Thousands then I thought of that were resolved never to bow the Knee to the schismatical Calves either at Dan *or* Bethel; *or submit to another* Hogan Mogan *Common-wealth; and then I perceived that my former fears, how just soever they might seem before, were yet too great, for there were (or at least might be) more for us then against us.*

But then when I considered your quality, and the places you enjoyed in the Government, I raised my hopes yet higher, and I concluded a people who had such Loyal, such Religious, such Free and Generous Persons intrusted with the Government of them, could hardly miscarry in the end, tho for a time popular Storms might toss them.

I thought also that God himself had again respected his beloved Daughter the Church of England; *for which I was before more concern'd then for my self: and that he had declared himself the second time for the Family of his Servant the Illustrious Royal Martyr; For I could not ascribe so universal and unusual Concurrence of Men of different Humors, Educations, and degrees to any other cause then the Divine*

Divine Providence inſpiring them with a Spirit of Unity, Loyalty, and Reſolution.

Yet obſerving that there was a conſiderable number of Freemen and Freeholders in the Nation to whom Heaven had not yet vouchſafed that favour, who went wrong out of Ignorance and incogitancy rather then Faction or Diſloyalty, and being an idle perſon, I thought I could not poſſibly better imploy a part of my time, then in Addreſſing *to them, to reduce and inform them, and as much as in me lay to render them like you; and alſo to confirm ſuch as might poſſibly yet ſtagger if another Temptation ſhould befall them.*

So that Gentlemen, *is was from your example, I took Courage to Write, and for your ſakes Chiefly have I ſince ventured to publiſh what I have written, that I may in ſome ſort juſtify your* Numerous Addreſſes, *and therefore I humbly beg your leave to Dedicate the whole Work to you who indeed firſt gave it life.*

It may poſſibly ſeem ſtrange to ſome of you to find an Epiſtle Dedicatory in the end, as it were of a Work; but the thing hath been done before, and the truth is, I would not venture at a Dedication till I did ſee whether it would be received in the World, and now it is, I am ſorry I have nothing better to preſent you with whoſe Names deſerve to be Regiſtred to all ſucceeding Ages, and your Encomium *written*

Euſibius puts the Dedication of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory in the beginning of the tenth and laſt Book of it.

ten by the most Elegant Pen the Christian World affords.

But Gentlemen, *it is not my design to Create a high opinion of you, in your selves, but to excite you to go on and perfect the good Work you have began, for that is the thing the Factious please themselves in,* viz. *That however you seem now, when time shall be, you will unsay all again, and joyn with them as heartily as any other against the Church and State, and this they have published in print; and that I may not seem to slander them, I will Transcribe the very words of one of them.*

An Impartial Account of the Nature and Tendency of the late Addresses, *Sect.*2.

" No applications of this Nature to the reg-
" nant person are to be esteemed of any great
" Weight or Significancy; if you do but consi-
" der the result of the many Addresses Three
" and Twenty years ago to *Richard Cromwell*,
" and how they only served to render him se-
" cure till he was undermined and supplanted,
" for all the Sixteen Hundred Thousand that
" vowed to live and dye by him, not so much
" as one man drew a Sword for him when he
" came to be laid aside. I acknowledg that
" there is great difference betwixt an Usurper
" and a lawful Prince, (*he might have added also, and betwixt a parcel of men that had sworn and forsworn themselves as often as occasion required, and*

betrayed

betrayed thereby all parties one after another, and ſuch Addreſſors as theſe who applyed themſelves to their lawful and rightful Soveraign to whom they were true when his 1600000 *Rebelled, firſt againſt their Natural Prince, and when they had prevailed againſt him by Perjury and Violence, they made uſe of them one againſt another, till at length they ruined themſelves* "*too*) Yet that (*as he goes on*) detracts very "little in the preſent Caſe from the Impor- "tance of the Conſideration which I have ſug- "geſted, ſeeing the leaſt that we are to gather "from it is this, that no Addreſſes contrary to "the Intereſt and general Humour of the Na- "tion (*which he ſuppoſeth theſe were*) are to be "accounted of any value for a Prince to ſu- "ſtain himſelf upon. And if there be nothing "elſe to ſecure our late Addreſſors to his Maje- "ſty (*which he grants there is, they being his Na-* "*tural Subjects, and ever Loyal to him*) but their "promiſes and proteſtations in theſe papers, "he may be as much diſappointed, ſhould he "truſt to them, as the former Gentleman after "the like Security. *Thus far my Author, but he ought to have conſidered,* Richard *was turn'd out by the Army againſt whom theſe Addreſſors could not have protected him if they would, which added to the former of the temper of the different Addreſſors to*

the

the ſeveral Parties, and their very diſtant or rather oppoſite poſitions, which he takes notice of, the one being an Uſurper, and the other a lawful Prince, will make the two caſes ſo totally unlike; that no conſequence can be drawn from the one to the other, much leſs that bold one, that becauſe Richard *was laid aſide without any reſiſtance made by the Addreſſers, therefore none is to be expected from theſe.*

But the truth is, tho you be never ſo ſincere, yet you may be overpowred by force, and then all your proteſtations in theſe Papers will have no other effect then to betray you to ruine when ever theſe Godly Richardians *can get the maſtery over you; to prevent which it is abſolutely neceſſary to back your ſaid Loyal Declarations with effectual ſupplies when neceſſity requires, and in the Interim to take all the care imaginable to win off as many as you can of the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation from ſiding with ſuch men as my Author, in the next Election of Parliament-Men: and becauſe I could do little more, I writ theſe three ſmall diſcourſes for that end, and how meanly ſoever I have performed my part in it, I beg your acceptance of my good intentions, and that you would in your ſeveral Stations promote this Work which is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, by more effectual means.*

Amongſt which I am perſuaded none would ſucceed better then an Univerſal Execution of the Laws againſt

the

the Dissenters, Especially those against **Conventicles,** for these are the Seed-places where factions are nursed up till they may be strong enough to grapple with and overturn the Government of Church and State, and to this end the Oxford Act would be more subservient in Corporations, then that of the 22d of his now Majesties Reign. For if the Teachers were once removed out of these places, tho but to a distance of Five Miles, they would not so easily poyson the small Freemen with Rebellious principles; and those that they have already seduced would in time become more tractable.

One other means I would recommend to you, is the Communicating the Loyal discourses that are every day printed to your Neighbours, which is done much more usually by the Dissenters by the other sort, so that you shall sometimes find a Seditious Libel to have passed through so many hands, that it is at last scarce Legible for durt and sweat; whilst the Loyal answer stands in a Gentlemans Study as clean and as neat as it came from the Press. But if the meaner sort of men might but hear both the Parties, the Advantage the Government gives to the Loyal side, added to the strength of their Reasons, would certainly in time turn the Scale that way; and then they would be zealous too for the Government, when their Reasons and Consciences were once convinced that their Interest and Duty lay there.

And

And another is, the keeping (as much as is possible) of Factious men out of all places of Trust, Power, or Profit; which when they have once gained, they constantly imploy these private advantages to the publick dammage. Had this been duely Attended upon his Majesties Return, and practised ever since, we had not been in the danger we now are of being ruined the second time by them: but alas, they had plundred the Nation for 20 years together, and the Act of Indemnity made all this Ill-gotten wealth their own, and with it they purchased the far greatest part of the places of profit, whilst the poor Caviliers were excluded because they had nothing to give; and the rich because it was a shame to take any thing of them. And thus the Factious with the spoils of the Royal Party put themselves once more into a Capacity to ruin the Government, and having thus got much more wealth then they had before, they procured a great part of the places of Trust and Authority to be put into their hands too, and many Loyal persons turn'd Whigs in revenge and out of discontent.

But that which of all other things would the most speedily and effectually secure the Nation from a relaps into misery and confusion, is a surrender of the Charters of the Corporations into his Majesties hands, and the taking out of new ones with such restrictions as he and his Council thinks fit. Nor can I imagine

why

why this ſhould be ſcrupled, it being the onely way that can ſecure them long in that Vaſt and diſproportionable Priviledg they now have of ſending up Burgeſſes to the Parliament, which as they had it at firſt from the Crown, ſo it was in danger to have been loſt when the Government fell into O. C's. *Hands; and will go near to be loſt in the Next Rebellion, and therefore it befits them, of all men, to Secure the King's Authority, which is the foundation of theirs.*

Gentlemen,

You may perhaps not thank me for thus offering my Advice before it was asked; but if you pleaſe to reflect Seriouſly upon what I have ſaid, and alſo upon the Indignities the Author of the Pamphlet I mentioned have Caſt upon you, it will ſoon appear reaſonable to do all that is in your power to preſerve your Selves out of the hands of ſuch inſolent men. And this is not to be done by Addreſſing *to the* King *onely, (tho that was well done too) but by addreſsing your ſelves to root out Faction by all the Lawful Means God in his Providence ſhall afford you: and if you be once reſolved on this, no mans Counſel will be refuſed in a buſineſs of that Conſequence, that it Needs the United Hands and Heads of the whole Nation to effect it.*

The impartial account of the Nature and Tendancy of the *Addreſſes.*

But that I may obtain your belief the better in relation to what concerns the Author I juſt now mention-

ed, I will transcribe some Passages out of him, Section the 7th, he tells us, " The Number of the Sub-
" scribers (*to the Addresses*) is not to so Conside-
" rable as to bear any proportion to those who
" are against them; for tho' a few busie peo-
" ple have made a great noise and buz in seve-
" ral places of the Kingdom, yet all of them
" put together, make not so great a Number
" as we have seen not long since to one Peti-
" tion for a Parliament. *Now doubtless this his* Neglect and Scorn of your Paucity and Few-ness, (*as he words it*) *as it proceeds from hence, that you were for the most part the* Governors, *or at least the* Freemen *or* Freeholders *that* Addressed, *when the* Rabble *and their Children* Petitioned, *so it is intended to provoke his Mirmidons to fall upon you, and teach you more respect to his* Leviathan *The Multitude.*

This he prosecutes further, Section the 8th, *where he tells us,* " Tho' the Clergy and many of
" the present Commissioners both Civil and
" Military, and the Magistrates of several of
" the Corporations had not onely Interested
" themselves in Countenancing the Addresses,
" but been Sticklers for them as for the Great
" *Charter* or the *Petition of Right*, and some of
" them had been Knighted meerly for that
" Service,

" Service, (*as he Contemptuouſly calls it*) yet could " not all this prevail with or bring over any " great or valuable Number to joyn in them. *The truth is, it was early days then, but I believe the Gentleman had enough at laſt, and it is no wonder that men of the quality he reckons up, ſhould not be Numerous.*

Yet Section 9th, *he tells us,* " Your quality was " as Inconſiderable as your Number, being ſuch " as for want of Years (*their Party are always of* " *Age if they can but tell their Names*) or Poverty " were never Capable of Giving a Vote in " Election of Members to Sit in Parliament, " and (a few excepted) the reſt made up of " the Scum and Refuſe of the Places where " they live. *Were all his Petitioners Worſhipful Gentlemen, Learned States-men and Lawyers, or Sound Divines, &c. tho the Order was, Care ſhould be taken the Subſcribers ſhould be numerous, tho they were neither* Gentlemen, *nor ſo much as* Freemen? *But he goes on,* " *Norwich,* whence we have been " alaramed with the greateſt Noiſe, yields but " a ſmall Number of perſons either of Eſtate " or Uſefulneſs, whoſe hands were Annexed " to the Paper which was ſent up. *Yet this ſmall number of Poor, Uſeleſs people, were the Governors*

and Common Councel of one of the Richeſt as well as Loyalleſt Cities of the Nation.

Section the 10th *he ſaith*, " That your Moral " Conditions were agreeable to your Civil, " men Popiſhly inclined. Abhorrers of Peti- " tions, or guilty of one or other offence which " the late Parliaments were about calling " them to an Account for: the reſt were little " Bankrupt Tradeſmen, Scandalous and diſ- " graced Attorneys: men whoſe folly made ' them pragmatical and impertinent, or whoſe " prodigality and ambition forced them to " look for preferment above their merit. So " that did but his Majeſty know, (*and Value the* " *Judgment of the Petitioners*) he would eſteem it " a reflection upon his Honour, and an Aſper- " ſion upon the Wiſdom and the Equity of his " Proceedings, to be either Approached or " Thanked by them. *Yet this is a little more modeſt, than for a parcel of ſuch men to come forth and tell him againſt his Declared* * *Reſolution*, That it was neceſſary to ſuffer the Parliament to Sit preſently: *for this was to Teach him. And you may*

* By Two Proclamations, one of the 11*th* day of *Decemb.* 1679. for Proroguing the Parliament till the 11*th* of *Novemb.* following. And the other Publiſhed the 12*th* day of *Decemb.* 1679. againſt Theſe Tumultuous Petitions, as contrary to the Common and Known Laws of the Land: and tending to promote Diſcontents amongſt the People, and to raiſe Sedition and Rebellion, &c.

from

from this Character perceive what Treatment you muſt Expect from theſe Gentlemen *if ever they get an Advantage againſt you.*

Section the 11th *he tells us,* "Your Politicks "were equal with your Morals; for can any "man believe (*ſaith he*) that the Mayors, Head-"boroughs, Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burgeſſes and "Freemen of *Ripon*, *Wigan*, *Windſor*, *Chatham*, "*Hazelmeere*, *New-Sarum*, &c. are Competent "Judges what the late Houſe of Commons "did legally or illegally? &c. *Yet this is not altogether ſo difficult, as 'tis to tell when it is fit a Parliament ſhould Sit, and when it is not fit, becauſe this depends on certain known and fixed Rules, which the other doth not, but is to be judged by the preſent ſtate of Forraign and Domeſtick Affairs; things that are known to few men. Then he goes on and tells us,* "The Learned Gentlemen of the Gown were "at leaſt as well qualified to give their ſence "and opinion about theſe matters, as Country "Mercers, Inn-Keepers, Taylors and Thatch-"ers (*You muſt know, the* London *Tradeſmen are next Neighbours to his Learned Gown-men, and ſo are Excepted by the Addition of the word* Country.) *And yet he tells us,* "Thoſe refuſed to meddle "with Addreſſes, &c. *But, Sir, did any of them*

Sign

Sign your Petitions, I pray! if they did not, to uſe your own words a little varied, 20000 hands, to your Petitions, *will not make that impreſsion on the Minds of Modeſt thinking men, as their being Caſt out too by the* Benchers *and* Barriſters *of the Inns of Court will.*

He Concludes, Sect.22. with this Threat, "That "as you muſt Expect that the judgment which "you have paſſed upon perſons and things, will "at one time or another come under a review; "So matters which have either been miſrepre- "ſented by you, or in reference to which Par- "liaments (*you know which he means*) have been "Arraigned, may before then, come to be ſo "well underſtood by his Majeſty, and all "things ſo well Adjuſted between Him and "his People, that you (*the Addreſſers*) may nei- "ther find your ſelves able to decline, nor be "in a condition to Control the Juriſdiction of "the next Parliament, to which, *he ſaith*, he "ſhall at preſent leave you. *And you may be ſure he expects it will be ſuch an One as the Laſt were, and then he thinks he ſhall not need to wiſh you a worſe puniſhment.*

At this Inſolent rate you have been treated in Print, and what can follow but the Utmoſt Revenge this worſt

worſt ſort of Men can inflict upon you, if ever they get you again under their power. I have read, That in the end of the laſt War there was a Motion made at a Council of War, for a general Maſſacre of all the principal Malignants, *as they then ſtiled the King's Party, and that it was Carried in the Negative by a few Votes; and Conſidering the Rage, Malice and Diſpair of theſe men to accompliſh their Trayterous Deſigns of Subverting the Government any other way, now the Kingdom hath taken the Alarm, and not only Addreſſed, but Abhorred their* Aſſociation *too, it is but reaſonable to Expect it will not be again overruled if Ever they be in a Capacity to put it to the Vote the Second time: which God prevent.*

My Intentions were to have ended this Epiſtle here, it being but too long already; but there is one Paſſage in this Pamphlet I judge abſolutely neceſſary to be Conſidered, the words are Theſe; "Tho men are "to be eſteemed capable of knowing their "own Wants, Fears and Dangers, and ought "to be juſtified in begging thoſe means of Re- "lief and Redreſs which the Law hath provi- "ded for them; yet every one is not to be "accounted Sufficiently qualified to Deter- "mine concerning the Reaſonableneſs and "Legality of Parliamentary Proceedings and "Re- *Sect. 2.*

" Reſolves; nor is any Number of Men what-
" ſoever Impowred to Umpire differences be-
" tween his Majeſty and his Great Council.
This is the pretence that juſtified the laſt War, and as long as it ſtands for a Maxime at this looſe rate it is here pen'd, will juſtifie Ten thouſand one after another; and therefore it cannot but be worth a ſmall parcel of your time to Enquire and Conſider how much truth or falſehood there is in it.

And in the firſt place it cannot be denyed, but that every man ought to have the Liberty to propoſe his own perſonal Wants, Fears and Dangers *to his Superiors, and to be allowed thereupon to beg ſuch Redreſs as the Law hath provided: but then to infer from hence, that he hath an Equal right or ability to Conſider of the Publick and National* Wants, Fears and Dangers, *and to beg the* Enacting of New Laws, *or the Repeal of Old Laws, for the removing of them: or, which is all one, the Calling, or Sitting, the Continuance, or Changing, of Parliaments to that purpoſe, is ſo groſs a deluſion, ſo full of Danger, and doth ſo immediately tend to Sedition and Rebellion, Eſpecially if Multitudes of Factious men may be allowed to pretend what* Fears, Wants and Dangers, *they pleaſe, and then in a Tumultuary way to beg what Redreſs they think fit, by Petitions ſigned by* 40, 50, *or* 60 *thouſand*

thouſand men at a time, that it was prohibited by an Act of Parliament upon Experience of the Miſchief it hath done, and the foreſight of what it will do as often as it is uſed, it being deſtructive to any Government whatſoever. 13 Car. 2. cap. 5.

As to the Second Propoſition, It is to be acknowledged, That every one is not to be accounted Sufficiently qualified to Determine concerning the Reaſonableneſs and Legality of Parliamentary Proceedings and Reſolves; But then 'tis not fit to infer from thence, Firſt, That no man is ſo qualified; nor Secondly, That it is impoſſible but that all their Proceedings ſhould be Legal and Reaſonable. Nor Thirdly, That any man ought to approve of, and ſubmit to them, whether they be ſo or no. For tho it is moſt certain, there are but few men are ſo qualified; yet it is as Certain, that ſome men even amongſt the Addreſſers *were, if many Years Sitting in Parliament will qualifie a perſon of great abilities for it: And it is no leſs certain, That the Proceedings of Two or Three Parliaments within the Memory of Man, have been not onely Unreaſonable and Illegal, but Trayterous and Rebellious; and we are not ſure* but *that we may have more ſuch, if God be not the Mercifuller to us: and if any ſuch ſhould happen to be, and we ſhould joyn with them, tho but out of a Modeſt Opinion that we are not ſufficiently qualified to Determine concerning*

That of 1640, 1649, 1653, 1656. in none of which, Except the firſt, was there any Royal Writ at all. Lord Chancell. Speech, *May* the 8th, 1661.

the Legality *and* Reaſonableneſs *of* Parliamentary Proceedings *and* Reſolves; *yet it would neither Excuſe the Guilt, nor prevent the Puniſhment that is due by Law to them who ſhall* Rebel *againſt the King, tho in Obedience to a Parliament.*

To the Third, That no Number of Men whatſoever is Impowred to Umpire betwixt his Majeſty and his Great Council; *may be anſwered, That there is an ambiguity in the word* Umpire, *and it may be taken not only different, but contrary wayes, and therefore it ought not to have been uſed in this place.*

And Secondly, That if any difference ſhould happen to ariſe betwixt him and them, we ought not to reſiſt the King, nor to aſsiſt his Great Council againſt him with Force and Arms, tho the King ſhould be in the Wrong, and they in the Right; for that is Determined in Parliament already.

13 Car. 2. cap. 6.

Thirdly, It is true, That no Number of men whatſoever have any authority to hear and determine their Differences in a Judicial way, ſo as to compel them to ſubmit to their judgment; for then that Number of men ſhould be Superior both to King and Parliament; but all this notwithſtanding ſeeing the Houſe of Commons Appealed to the People by Printing their Votes, &c. and the King by publiſhing his Gracious Declaration, *why might not the* Addreſſers, *ſo far approve*

prove of His Majeſties Proceedings, as to Thank Him for the Satisfaction he had given them, and to promiſe him to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, which they were bound to do however.

Fourthly, It may be anſwered, That beſides the Differences betwixt the King and the Commons, and the Lords and Commons, there were ſome Differences betwixt the Commons and ſome of them that Addreſſed afterwards; they had Impriſoned ſeveral Gentlemen and other Subjects which they conceived then (as perhaps they do ſtill) were Illegal and Unreaſonable Proceedings, and they were as capable of Knowing their want of Protection, and as ſenſible of the Dangers, and Fears of further Oppreſsion as other men, and therefore they ought to have been Juſtified if they had begged thoſe means of Relief *and* Redreſs *which the Law had provided for them; but yet they* Patiently *and* Silently *Expected the Iſſue till* GOD *put it into His Majeſties Royal Breaſt (in whoſe hands are the Hearts of Kings) to declare theſe their Proceedings* ARBITRARY; *and might they not then riſe up and Thank their Soveraign for the Favour he had ſhown them? It is hard to conceive upon this Man's principles they might not have Petitioned His Majeſty for Relief and Redreſs before this time, but yet no man did it.*

And in Relation to the Differences betwixt His

Majeſty and the Commons, and the Upper and the Lower Houſe, what neceſsity is there that the Addreſſers ſhould approve of them; for tho the Commons were their Repreſentatives and Truſtees, the King is their Soveraign, and the Lords are not Aliens and Foreigners, but the Two higheſt States of this our Native Country: and altho the Addreſſers *pretend no Authority over that Supreme Court of Juriſdiction, yet what reaſon is there why they may not approve of what the Lords have done well, tho the Commons will not?*

Upon the whole therefore I crave Leave to Conclude, That the Addreſſors *in* General *have done nothing but what may be fairly Juſtified, and was neceſſary to Satisfie his Majeſty and the World, that there was a Conſiderable Part of the Nation did not approve of what was done in the Names of the whole by the Commons in Parliament: and if it be the Duty of every Engliſh man to fight for his King, if occaſion require, againſt any Party that ever ſhall hereafter pretend to have the Authority of both or either of the Houſes to back them, as I humbly conceive is moſt plain, then why may not they right his Majeſty with their Pens, who muſt do it with their Swords; why may they not* Approve *his Cauſe as well as* Defend it?

And if this be not allowed, Any King of England *may be Depoſed and Murthered as the*

late

13 Car. 2. cap. 6.

late King *was*; *for if there be a* Blind Obedience *due to all the* Votes *of Parliament, and no man may in any Case judge them* Illegal *and* Unreasonable; *then must all men absolutely Submit to them, and obey them; and the Consequence is, if any future Parliament shall* Vote *any future* King *or Monarchy it self a* Grievance *to the Nation, and those that stand by them Enemies to the Kingdom, if no man may Contradict such a* Vote, *nor any Number of Men how great soever Umpire betwixt the King and his Great Council; that is, Defend him against his Parliament, the effect will Certainly follow; and as this is the natural Tendance of these Principles as we saw in the Late Troubles, so I can conceive no other cause why they should be now again insinuated into the Heads of the Rabble.* 13 Car. 2. cap. 1. §. 2.

For these Men who pretend to reverence the Three Last Parliaments at such a Prodigious rate, do traduce that which went immediately before most abominably; and those who are so tender of the Votes of these, care as little for the Established Lawes of the former, as I do for the Decrees of the Council of Trent, *or of the Synod of* Dort: *So that it is plain, it is not respect to Parliaments as Parliaments, that makes them thus obsequious; but as made up of such a Sort of men, and Driving on such Designs and Interests.* The late Long Parliament tho filled with *Danby* his Pensioners, The Modest Vindication of the Two last Parliaments, p. 11.

To

To return then, Gentlemen, from this long Digression, which I have inserted only to Justifie You, I will Conclude, That as you have begun bravely, so you must go thro with the business, or Expect a Revenge from the Opposite Party equal to their Rage; and tho I Know you do not fear them, yet I would Advise you not to be too Secure of them, but let your Vigilance, Industry, and Application to all Sorts of Men, be equal to theirs at least; and then it is Ten thousand to one, you shall never try either theirs or your own Valour, and as your Case is better, so let it inspire you with more Resolution to Stand and Fall with it; and his Most hearty Prayers for a good Success upon all your Loyal Undertakings and Designs, shall never be wanting, who is

Your most Devoted

Servant.

THE

THE

Third Part

OF THE

ADDRESS

TO THE

FREE-MEN and FREE-HOLDERS

OF THE

NATION.

HIS Majeſty by the Bleſſing of GOD having Suppreſt the ſhort *Scotch* Rebellion, which in great part miſcarried by the timeing of it, tho no human fore-ſight on their part could have prevented that, His Majeſty firſt Proroguing and then Diſſolving that Parliament which ſeem'd to be the occaſion of it, with ſuch

ſuch Secrecy and Quickneſs, that their Friends at *London* could give them no previous Notice of his Intentions ſo to do: So that beſides the total diſappointing them of all that Countenance, Ayd and Aſſiſtance they promiſed themſelves from *England*, many of their Friends at home, whoſe Crimes being leſs, had not the ſame neceſſity, or whoſe Zeal was not of that fiery temper with theirs, and therefore were prudently reſolved (tho they wiſhed well to the deſign) yet not to hazard their ſweet Lives and Fortunes in it till they ſaw what Succeſs theſe firſt Venturers had, who hearing of the Prorogation of the Parliament, and being doubtleſs admoniſhed by their *London* Friends at the ſame time not to ſtir during this ſhort Receſs, (as they then thought it would be) layd by all thoughts of Joyning with them and Augmenting their Numbers, and the Privy Councils in both Nations attending ſolely to that buſineſs, it was Extinguiſhed almoſt as eaſily as it began.

Upon which His Majeſty by his Royal Proclamation Diſſolved this Parliament, and Iſſued out Writs for another to Sit at *Weſtminſter* the Seventeenth day of *October*, 1679. Hoping his Subjects duly reflecting upon the Miſcarriages of the Laſt Houſe of Commons, and the Danger the Nation had ſo narrowly eſcaped of Being involved in another deſtructive Inteſtine War, at a time when the Victorious Arms of *France* hung like a dreadful Cloud over our heads, and the High Diſcontents of the Popiſh Party, which were inflamed and inraged both by the Diſcovery and Proſecutions of the late Plot, lay broyling in the Bowels of the Nation, would proceed with more Prudence and Caution in the Next Elections, and ſend Him up men of Better Tempers, or that at leaſt theſe Gentlemen by that Act, ſeeing He was reſolved to keep the Reins in his own hands, and to let them Sit

or

or Diſſolve them according as they behaved themſelves, would thereby be kept in better awe for the future, and make uſe of a little more calmneſs in their Proceedings, if it were but to continue their Being.

But alas, His Majeſty ſoon found himſelf deceived in his Expectation, the common people who ſee with other mens eyes, and follow as they are led, and that is for the moſt part, the wrong way, were eaſily perſwaded to believe in the firſt place that this Parliament was Prorogued and Diſſolved onely to prevent the Tryal of the Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*; tho the Not Trying of them was one of the greateſt Cauſes that Moved his Majeſty to it, as appears plainly both by the Journals of both the Houſes, and his Majeſties Speech in the Concluſion of that Seſſion of Parliament; and altho theſe Five Lords were brought to the Bar, and the Commons ſummon'd to give in Evidence againſt them that very day that they were Prorogued, they refuſed to do it.

And on the other ſide, the Malecontents rejoyced greatly in it, being well aſſured that the ſame Men would be choſen again, and ſo made uſe of this Diſſolution as a means to incenſe the People againſt the King and the Government, and to increaſe the real or pretended fears of Men by their Loud Clamours againſt *French* Penſioners, Popery, Arbitrary Government, and the like, which both in diſcourſe and Print (the Preſs being now at Liberty from its former reſtraint) they objected with equal Confidence and Falſhood againſt the Loyal Gentlemen that had oppoſed them.

But beſides theſe general Charges, they made ſpecial uſe of two things that fell out in the laſt Parliament, and that had a mighty influence upon the Minds of the populace and other Unthinking men. The firſt of which was to repreſent all thoſe Gentlemen of the

Houſe of Commons who had Voted againſt the Bill for Excluding his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, as Papiſts, or at leaſt Popiſhly affected; and for my part, I believe it was the principal Motive of bringing in that Bill: for it is ſcarce poſſible but that they muſt ſee, after that Second Declaration that his Majeſty made in that very Seſſion concerning the Succeſſion: and the Houſe of Lords refuſing to joyn with them in the firſt of theſe Votes that introduced that Bill, that they ſhould never be able to get it paſs into an *Act*, but then they might eaſily foreſee however it would be a powerful means of inciting the People againſt all that ſhould oppoſe it, and prevail with them to paſs a Sentence upon them as Popiſhly affected at leaſt, if not down-right Arrant Papiſts; and herein they had great part of their deſign, and there was no Motive more frequently uſed than this, and for the moſt part it was driven a little higher and urged againſt his Majeſty too, as by the bye, thus, *What, will you give your Voice for——— who is a Papiſt, and Voted for the Duke of* York *in the laſt Parliament, who is an Arrant Papiſt, and the King is little better.* Which words were actually ſpoken by one of that Party, and Sworn upon him at his Majeſty's Suit, and for which the party was Fined Five hundred Marks in the *Kings-Bench.* And by this Sole Argument they prevailed to Exclude almoſt all thoſe Gentlemen, and to fill up their places with men of their own principles, and traduced his Majeſty, the Court, and all the Miniſters of State, and almoſt all the Gentry and Loyal Clergy too for endeavouring to have theſe men choſen again.

The Second Thing that they made great advantage of, was the pretended diſcovery of Sir *S. Fox* of the Penſioners in the Long Loyal Parliament; which diſcovery being haſtily

haſtily made, and No Record of it being entred, they took the Confidence to Add to it whomſoever they were pleaſed to have ſo thought, by the ſmall Free-men and Free-holders, and that was a Number it may be double and treble to that Sir *S.* mentioned; however I am ſure that the Written Liſts that were then ſpread abroad, and which were all of Equal Authority, or pretended to be ſo, did not agree, ſome having more Names than other, and I am well aſſured that ſome Perſons Named were not Penſioners, nor could be ſo; and therefore I believe Sir *S.* never ſaid they were; but they were added by the Tranſcribers, according to their private Intereſts or Paſſions, but they made the People believe they knew who would be Penſioners too, which was ſomewhat difficult, and led the diffidence to that height, as to Exclude, as far as they could poſſibly, not onely all the Courtiers and other Perſons who had any Places of Profit and Advantage under his Majeſty, but their Relations too; and Wanted not much that they had Excluded all thoſe who bore any honorary Imployments or Offices, ſuch as Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace. So that nothing now recommended a man ſo effectually for a Parliament-man, as that he had not been thought fit to be truſted in the leaſt by his Majeſty or their Neighbour Gentry; or having been ſo, had been turned out: all which were applauded as Men not to be bought, Enemies to the Court, and Miniſters, and therefore true Friends to the Proteſtant Religion and the Country. All which tended (as they ſaid) to the Advancement of his Majeſties Service, and to the increaſing the Love of the People towards him and the Government, and he was a hard-hearted man who called the Sincerity of their Loyal intentions in queſtion.

Theſe two being added to all the Ill ways they had made uſe of in the former Election, no wonder if his Majeſty was not Satisfied with the Returns, when he ſaw by them what men he was to meet in his next Houſe of Commons. Whereupon his Majeſty Prorogued them at the day of their meeting till a further time, and ſo kept them from meeting to Sit till the *21th.* of *October*, 1680. And now let us ſee how they behaved themſelves in this Interval. Wherein I ſhall deſire the Reader's Excuſe if I do not relate things in that preciſe order they fell out, it being nothing material to my purpoſe.

His Majeſties Intentions of Proroguing the Parliament from time to time, ſo as not to permit a Seſsion till the time he had deſigned, which was a Year, being once known, the great Contrivers of all our Diſturbances, who met, and ordered all things in Clubbs and cloſe Cabals, fell into the greateſt Paſſion imaginable, they had carried things to that height, out of deſign to force the King to Diſſolve that Parliament, or yield more than he could either ſpare or recall; but then they had made their count he could not continue long without another Parliament, and the quick choyce, and the temper of the Men generally Returned was, as they gave out in their Pamphlets, according to their hearts deſire: But then if they might be diſſolved or prorogued when ever they came to Redreſs the Grievances of the People, that is, when ever his Majeſty pleaſed to think it Expedient, and eſpecially for ſo long a time, the heat the People were then in might cool, other thoughts might ariſe, the fears of an immediate Execution of the Plot upon them, might appear (as they knew they were) vain and falſe. His Majeſty might Recover his Eſtimation with his People, and ſhew he was able to Subſiſt with-

Appeal from the Country to the City.

without preſent Supplies from a Parliament; and which grieved them moſt of all, he might in this time Root up the Reliques of the *Scotch* Rebellion in ſuch manner, that no aſſiſtance would afterwards be to be had from thoſe *Northern* Brethren, what need ſoever they might have of them; which is as good as confeſt by the Author of the Appeal to the City.

To prevent theſe and ſeveral other dreadful Conſequences of this Nature, they caſt their heads what courſe they ſhould take, the way of Pamphlets was ſlow and uncertain, and they had almoſt Cloyed the Appetite of the Nation with that Crude ſort of Rebellious and Diſloyal Diſcourſes, which ſerved rather for the divertiſement to Idle men, then gave them any great Advantage, at leaſt for the preſent; and they had need, in this affair, of ſome very quick and powerful Expedient, that might work upward upon the King, and downward upon the People.

Neither could they then bethink themſelves of any better remedy than to revive the old way of Tumultuous Petitions, ſigned by all ſorts of people, and that in vaſt Numbers. The firſt of which ſort, as I believe, was the *Mille manus* Petition Preſented to King *James*. Tho as *Fuller* acquaints us, there was onely 750 * Preachers hands ſet to it, and thoſe Collected out of 25 Counties. Yet afterwards, Eſpecially in the beginning of the Laſt Rebellion, when they had any great Deſign to bring about, which they had reaſon to expect would be oppo-

An. 1603. *C. Hiſ.* Book 9. *Pag.* 7.

* But after this the Author ſaith other Petitions were ſet a foot about the ſame time for Aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*, and ſetting up *Presbytery*; To which no Hand that had five Fingers, was Refuſed; and that *George* Lord *Goring*, then a Boy, ſet his hand to one of them, in the right (I believe) of his Mother, a good Lady much Addicted to that Party. *Fuller. Ib. pag.* 24.

ſed;

ſed; Next to bringing great Numbers of mean and tumultuous people down to *White-Hall* and *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with rude and loud Clamours to Say over again what they had firſt inſpired into them: This I now mention of Sending into the City of *London*, and the Remoter Corporations and Counties, of Petitions, Complaints, Remonſtrances and Declarations to the King, or both or either Houſes of Parliament, for alteration of Matters eſtabliſhed by Law, redreſs of Pretended Grievances in Church or State, or other publick Concernments was one ſpecial means they often made uſe of, and that with great Succeſs, *Theſe Petitions, as the Learned Dr.* Hammond *tells us, were for the moſt part framed and put into the Peoples hands even in ſet preſcribed forms*, and then committed to certain Confiding men, who carried them to the places appointed, and there ſolicited as many as they could poſſibly to Sign the ſame, not regarding ſo much the Quality as the Number of the Subſcribers, who for the moſt part were mean Mechanicks, Illiterate ignorant Countrymen, Servants, Apprentices, Journeymen and Children; which Petitions they after delivered with great Numbers of People to the King or Parliament, and were deſigned by them that then ſet them afoot, not ſo much to perſwade or intreat, as to terrifie and compel, every Petitioner being as it were Liſted to force, if he could not otherwiſe obtain his deſire. And accordingly this way was made uſe of, when either the King or the Major part of either Houſe would not be drawn otherwiſe to Comply with theſe Republicans; and afterwards when they came to be imployed againſt them, or to croſs their humours or Intereſts, they diſcountenanced them as much as they could; tho all this would have been too little, if they had not made uſe of Arms againſt theſe bold Suiters, the Apprentices of

13 Car. 2. cap. 5.

Vind. of the Liturgy, Sect. 28. cap. 2.

Short View of the late Troubles, *p.* 83, *pro* 81.

Short View of the Late Troubles, *pag.* 85, 86. 89. 234.

of *London*, *July* the 26. 1647. ſhutting up the Commons Doors, and Compelling them to yield the City the Ordering of their own Militia; and alſo to paſs a Vote, *That the King ſhould be admitted to come to London* to Treat; which tho it were ſufficiently revenged, yet when afterwards *Eſſex* and * *Surrey* Petitioned again for a Peace in that manner, they ſent the Guards to beat them away; whereupon divers were wounded, and ſome ſlain. And as to the *Kentiſh-men*, who by their Grand Jury about the ſame time had framed a Petition for Peace in the Name of the whole Shire, they by the *Committee* for that County prohibited the ſame, by a Printed Paper publiſhed in all the Churches, Branding it to be SEDITIOUS and TUMULTUOUS, and ſaying, that *They would hang up two in every Pariſh, that were promoters of it, and Sequeſter the reſt.* Which was to declare themſelves *Abhorrers* with a *Vengeance.*

Ibid. 248. *Ib.*282,283. * *May* 26, 48.

Yet this Unruly Engine was the only tool our Sober Proteſtants could at this time think powerful enough to Compel his Majeſty to recede from his declared Reſolution, and permit the Parliament to Sit forthwith; and the method they uſed was preciſely the ſame that had been imployed againſt his Majeſty's Father of Bleſſed Memory, *viz.* theſe Petitions were drawn by their Clubbs and Cabals in *London*: or ſome ſay onely tranſcribed from an Old 41. Copy, and then ſent down by truſty men who had five ſhillings *per Centum*, for procuring hands, and * that of all Sorts and Ages, Degrees and Qualities; not caring who they were, ſo the Number was great: And I have been told this Story from

* The Inſtructions were, *That it mattered not tho they were neither Gentlemen nor Free-holders, but that they* (the Procurers of Subſcriptions) *ſhould get as many Hands as they could.*

Credible

Credible hands, One of these Procurers coming to a Godly Weaver in *Essex* to get his hand to the Petition, bethought himself that the Weaver had a Boy to his Son, and asked if he would not Subscribe too? *Yes*, replyed the Weaver, *if he were at home, but he is now gone with a Cow to a Neighbour's Bull. That is nothing*, said the Petition-Monger, *I can set his hand.* Which he accordingly presently did, and made the poor Boy become an humble Supplicant to the King, when he thought of nothing less. But I must confess they varied in one thing from the Old method; for they did not present them as heretofore by the hands of great Multitudes of the Petitioners, but sent them by some few persons of the better sort, which was a Civility was not so much paid to his Majesty, as his Guards, who might have endangered these Gentlemen Orators Skulls, if they had made as bold with the Son, as their Predecessors did with the Unarmed Father.

For my part, when I reflect seriously on this Stratagem, I cannot perswade my self they had any great hope to prevail upon the King by it; who too well remembred what ill Consequences had followed this way of proceeding in the Reign of his Father, to Countenance it in his own, by granting any thing that was so asked. And therefore I conceive the Cunningest of them had these further ends in it: First, to Engage men by these Subscriptions to be more fast to them, and their designs. Secondly, To Try whether the People might be brought to Tumult if they had occasion for it. Thirdly, To incense them the more against the Government if these Petitions were denyed, by representing it as a personal injury to them, every man being Naturally more fond of his own than anothers Counsel. Fourthly, to shew the Number and Strength

of

of their Adherents. Fifthly, To make them known each to other, to which end the Odd Phraſes, Whining Tones, Devout ſhruggs of old, and the Green Ribbans of late, were taken up alſo.

But whatever the deſign was, his Majeſty having the Authority of a *Statute* on his ſide wiſely provided in better times, had the Addreſs to diſappoint this Project; Firſt, by a Proclamation, which prohibited this * *Exerciſe* as Illegal and Tumultuous, and tending to Sedition and Rebellion. Secondly, by diſcountenancing and ſharply reprehending thoſe that were ſo ſilly as to preſent them. Thirdly, by encouraging another Sort of perſons who upon better grounds were as ready to deteſt and abhor them in a more Regular and Legal way; and theſe being for the moſt part men of Authority in their Country, ſo quelled this many-headed *Hydra*, that the triple Cordial of a Commons-Vote have not been able ſince to Revive it: And ſo I ſhall take my leave of it, till I come to thoſe Votes and the proceedings upon them.

13 Car. 2. c. 5. as alſo by the Judgment of all the Judges, 2 *Jacobi.*

* *Practiſe.*

In the Interim, I deſire my dear Countrymen, they would reflect Seriouſly upon what is here ſaid, and remember what fruits they reaped of this pernicious ſeed the laſt time they were prompted by this Sort of men to the uſe of it, and how they Treated the *Surrey* and *Kentiſh* men for uſing it to a purpoſe for which it was never deſigned, the procuring PEACE.

His Majeſty therefore Prorogued the Parliament from the 17*th* of *October*, to the 26 of *January*, and then meeting them in Perſon and making a Gracious Speech to them, Prorogued them to the 15*th* of *April*, and then to the 17*th* of *May*, and from thence to the Firſt of *July*, and ſo on to the 22*d.* of the ſame, and thence to the 23*d.* of *Auguſt*, and from thence to the 21. of *Octo-*

ber, 1679. when he declared they ſhould finally Sit according to his former Reſolution; which the Petitions had more confirmed him in.

In the Interim ſeveral things hapned worth the taking Notice of, as giving us ſome Light into the Deſigns of the Common-wealth Party and the Temper of the Diſſenters, by which we may Judge what we ſhall meet with at their hands if ever they prevail again.

The firſt I will Inſtance in was their Treatment of the *London* Apprentices. Some of them had been buſy in Burning the Pope, and after that had been drawn in to Sign the Petition; but finding they had diſobliged others by it, to give ſome Satisfaction, they gave Notice in Print, That they would burn the *Rump* the 29*th* of *May* following; and this was taken for ſuch an affront, by the Young Gentlemen of that Old Family of *Rumpers*, that preſently all the Prentices were made Traytors, Conſpirators, moſt of them ſaid to be Papiſts, for which ſeveral of them were Impriſoned, and it was much grief of heart to the *Merciful Rumpers* too, that they were not Hanged; and one of them, with great regret, told the following Parliament, *That he thought Cap.* Tom. *was at* Tangier, *who ſhould have headed the Apprentices Mutiny in* London; *and if* (ſaith the Gentleman) *I be not Miſ-informed, is a Captain too for that intended Eminent Service.* A Sad Story if it was true, and there was no miſ-information in the caſe ſome where or other: but this was onely meant for a Kind Reflection on the Government, which is grown of late ſtrangely in Love with Mutinies, and doubtleſs made Capt. *Tom*, a Captain there not onely to reward him for his Eminent Intended Service in *London*, but to put him into a Capacity of promoting a Tumult or Mutiny there too. Upon

L'Eſtrange's Narr. of the *Plot*, *pag.* 15. 4to.

Exact Collection of Debated p. 112.

on this Occaſion I am ſhrewdly tempted to remember ſome of the 41. Tumults and Mutinies in behalf of the *Rump*; but becauſe they were not Popiſh but *Puritan* Mutinies, and for the Service of the *Common-wealth of England*, I will forbear it: Onely I will give the World a Caution not to be mightily Surprized, if afterwards the Late Addreſſing Apprentices be clawed away for Papiſts and Mutineers too, If there be not too many of them.

In the beginning of *May*, his Majeſty had two or three Fits of an Ague, which went off again without any great hazard to his Life; yet this occaſioned ſome conſiderable Events. In one of the Fits there was ſome tampering among his back-Friends for the Proclaiming his Grace the D. of *M.* King, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould die of that Sickneſs.

About that time, that there was a Pamphlet Printed to make out a Title for him too, pretending to ſome Strange Diſcoveries to be made of a *Black Box*, that ſhould do the D. *much Kindneſs*; but tho his Majeſty and the Privy-Council took all the Care imaginable to diſcover the Author of this *Black Box*-diſcourſe, it could not be found: And to prevent the Ill Effects of ſuch Rumors for the future, his Majeſty Publiſhed a Declaration the 2^d. of *June*, 1679. which tho it hath been already printed, and is Long, yet becauſe it may be very hard to produce it ſome Years hence, I will take the pains to Inſert it here, from the *Gazette* of the *7th* of *June*, 1680.

CHARLES R.

WE *cannot but take Notice of the great Industry and Malice wherewith some men of a* **Seditious** *and* **Restless Spirit**, *do spread abroad a most False and Scandalous Report of A Marriage or Contract of Marriage, supposed to be had and made between Us and one Mrs.* **Walters**, alias **Barlow**, *now Deceased, Mother of the present Duke of* **Monmouth**, **aiming** *thereby to fill the Minds of Our Loving Subjects with Doubts and Fears, and if possible to divide them into Parties and Factions, and as much as in them lies, to bring into question the Clear Undoubted Right of Our True and Lawful Heirs and Successors to the Crown. We have therefore thought Our Self Obliged to Let our Loving Subjects see what steps We (out of Our Care of them and their Posterity) have already made, in order to Obviate the Ill Consequences that so dangerous and Malicious a Report may have in Future Times upon the Peace of Our Kingdoms.*

In January *Last was Twelvemonth, We made a* Declaration *written with Our Own Hand in the Words following.*

THere *being a False and Malicious Report Industriously spread abroad by Some,* **Who are Neither Friends to Me nor the Duke of Monmouth**, *as if I should have been Either Contracted or Married to his Mother: and though I am most Confident that this Idle Story, cannot have any Effect in this Age, Yet I thought it my Duty in relation to the true Succession of this Crown, and that future Ages may not have any pretence to give disturbance upon that Score or any other of this Nature, to declare, as*

I.

I do here declare in the presence of Almighty God, That I was never Married, nor gave any Contract to any Woman whatsoever, but to My Wife Queen **Catherine**, *to whom I am now Married. In Witness whereof I have set My Hand at* White-Hall *the Sixth of* January 1679.

This Declaration *I made in the Presence of* CHARLES R.

W. Cant. *H. Coventry,*
H. Finch, C. *J. Williamson.*

To strengthen which Declaration, We did in March *following (which was* March *last was Twelve-month) make a more Publick* Declaration *in Our Privy Council, written likewise with Our Own Hand; and having caused a true Transcript thereof to be Entred in Our Council Books, We Signed it, and caused the Lords of Our Privy Council then attending Us in Council, to Subscribe the same likewise; and We Ordered the Original to be kept in the Council Chest, where it Now remains. The Entry whereof in the Council Book is in these words following,*

At the Court at *White-Hall, March* 3d. 1679.

Present

The KING'S *Most Excellent Majesty.*

Lord Chancellor,
Lord Treasurer,
Duke of Lauderdale,
Marquess of Worcester,
Earl of Ossory,
Lord Chamberlain,
Earl of Sunderland,
Earl of Clarendon,
Earl of Essex,
Earl of Bathe,
Earl of Craven,
Earl of Aylesbury,
Lord Bishop of London,
Lord Bishop of Durham,
Lord Maynard,
Mr. Vice-Chamberlain,

His

His Majesty was this day pleased to Command that the Declaration *hereafter following be Entered in the Council-Book, it being all Written and Signed by his Majesty's Own Hand, in a Paper which his Majesty this day delivered at the Board, to be Kept in the Council Chest,* viz.

FOR the avoiding of Any dispute which may happen in time to come concerning the Succession of the Crown, I do hereby Declare in the Presence of Almighty God, That I Never gave nor made any Contract of Marriage, nor was Married to any Woman whatsoever, but to My present Wife Queen Catherine *now Living.*

White-Hall *the Third day of* March, 1679. CHARLES *R.*

His Majesty Commanded us who were present at the making and Signing this Declaration, *to attest the same.*

Finch, *C.*	Ossory,	Essex,	H. London,
Danby,	Arlington,	Bathe,	N. Durham,
Lauderdale,	Sunderland,	Craven,	W. Maynard,
Worcester,	Clarendon,	Aylesbury,	G. Carteret.

In April *Last We found the same Rumour not only* Revived *again, but also* Improved *with New Additions, to wit, It was given out, That there was a* Writing *yet* Extant, *and lately produced before several Persons, whereby the said* Marriage *or* Contract *at least, (for the Report was Various) would appear, and that there are several Lords and others yet Living, who were pretended to have been present at the said Marriage. We Knew full well that it was Impossible that any thing of this should be true, (there being Nothing more Groundless and False then that there was*

any

any such Marriage or Contract between Us and the said Mrs. Walters *alias* Barlow) *Yet We proceeded to call before Us, and caused to be Interrogated in the Council such Lords and other persons as the Common Rumour did Surmise to have been present at the pretended Marriage, or to Know something of it, or of the said Writing. And Though it appeared to all Our Council upon the Hearing of the said Lords and other persons severally Interrogated, and upon their denying to have been present at any such Marriage, or to Know any thing of it or of any such Writing, That the Raising and Spreading of such a Report so incoherent in the several parts of it, was the Effect of deep Malice in some few, and of Loose and Idle discourse in others, Yet, We think it Requisite at this time, to make Our* Declarations *above recited more Publick; and to* Order *the Same (as We do hereby with the Advice of Our* Privy Council) *to be forthwith Printed and Published. And We do again upon this Occasion call Almighty God to Witness, and Declare upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Word of a King, That there was never any Marriage, or Contract of Marriage had or made between Us and the said Mrs.* Walters *alias* Barlow, *the Duke of* Monmouth's *Mother, or between Us and any Woman whatsoever, Our Royal Consort Queen* Catherine, *that now is, Excepted.*

And We do hereby Strictly Require and Command all Our Subjects whatsoever, That they presume not to Utter or Publish any thing contrary to the Tenor of this Our Declaration, at their Peril, and upon pain of being proceeded against according to the Utmost Severity and Rigour of the Law.

Given at our Court at White-Hall *the Second day of* June, *in the Two and thirtieth Year of Our Reign.*

On the 15*th* of the ſame Month of *June*, Mr. Attorney General by his Majeſties Command, moved in the Court of *Chancery*, That theſe *Declarations* might be Enrolled and made a Record of that Court, for the preſervation of them; and in order thereunto, the Lords, and others of his Majeſties Privy Council, who were preſent when his Majeſty made and Signed thoſe *Declarations*, (and were Now in Court) being deſired to Atteſt the ſame: They did it upon their *Oaths*; as did likewiſe the Clerks of the Council; and then it was *Ordered*, That the ſaid Declarations ſhould be enrolled accordingly.

And when about this time his Majeſty had ſent the Duke of *Monmouth* to reſide for ſome time beyond the Seas, that he might not be made a Stale to theſe Mens ill deſigns, they wrought ſo much upon him, that he returned without his Majeſties Leave, and all his Places which were of great Value as well as Truſt, Power, and Honour, were taken from him.

In the Laſt Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the 10*th* day of *January*, 1680. The *Commons* paſt theſe Votes.

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That James *Duke of* Monmouth *hath been Removed from his Offices and Commands, by the Influence of the Duke of* York.

Ordered, That an humble Application be made to His Majeſty from this Houſe, by ſuch Members thereof, as are of his Majeſties Moſt Honourable Privy Council, to deſire his Majeſty to Reſtore the ſaid James *Duke of* Monmouth *to his ſaid Offices and Commands.*

Now let it be Conſidered, That there was not the leaſt

leaſt regard had to the Duke of *Monmouth* or his Intereſt, till this day, in all that Seſſion of Parliament; and now when it was ſaid they ſhould be Prorogued, and all the reaſon in the world to believe that a Diſſolution would follow, the laſt day in probability they were to Sit, his Majeſty being alſo diſoblig'd by the *Votes* about the Revenue; ſo that it could not be Expected that almoſt any thing could be granted; and when they could not Hope to ſee any effect of it, they paſſed theſe two Votes. For what might be expected from it, let his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, and all the World Judge.

I have heard ſome men inſinuate, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was ſent into *Scotland*, (tho there was no need of him) that by that Defeat of the Diſſenters, he might be rendered odious to their Partiſans here in *England*, and ſo be turned out of all his Places, and No man Concern himſelf for him; he having, as they would inſinuate, no Friends in *England* but they.

To which I anſwer, That it ought to be Conſidered, that on the one Side his Majeſty, who is the Father of the Duke, appears, whom all the World (his worſt Enemies not Excepted) acknowledg to be a Prince of a God-like Goodneſs and Clemency to his very Enemies; and on the other Side a Company of Men who have given large Demonſtrations that they are Enemies to Monarchy it ſelf; and therefore not likely to be over-kind to any of the Royal Family, but for ill Ends, and ſuch as the Duke hath no reaſon to promote, if he did perfectly Underſtand them.

Now let any man reflect upon this, and then pronounce as his Reaſon ſhall direct him, whether his Majeſty, or the Anti-Court Party were likelieſt to deſign

the Ruine of the Duke; that is, A Kind Father, or an Enraged and disobliged Enemy: To say here, as they commonly do, That his Majesty was imposed upon by Crafty men, contrary to his Natural Goodness, to Consent to the Ruine of his Son, is to Exalt his Goodness to the destruction of his Prudence, and represent him to the World as meerly passive, a Person easie to be deluded and abused; the contrary of which is most apparent by his Actions, tho it should be granted, that (as a Man) he hath some few times been deceived.

Amongst the Various Tricks and Projects that were then Set a foot, or Continued, there was none that pleased so well, as a Custom which was taken up since the Expiring of the Acts for the Regulating of Printing, *viz.* to Print Weekly Intelligences or News-Books. Concerning which his Majesty published this following Proclamation the 17*th* of *May*.

WHEREAS it is of great Importance to the State, that all News Printed and Published to the People, as well concerning Foreign as Domestick Affairs, should be agreeable to Truth, or at least Warranted by Good Intelligence, that the Minds of his Majesties Subjects may not be disturbed or amuzed by Lies or vain Reports, which are many times raised on purpose to Scandalize the Government, *or for other indirect Ends: And whereas of Late many Evil-disposed Persons have made it a Common practise to Print and Publish Pamphlets of News, without Licence or Authority, and therein have vended to his Majesties People, all the Idle and Malicious Reports that they could Collect or Invent, contrary to Law; the Continuance whereof would in a short time endanger the Peace of the Kingdom, the same manifestly tending thereto,*

thereto, as has been declared by all His Majeſties Judges Unanimouſly: His Majeſty therefore Conſidering the Great Miſchief that may enſue upon ſuch Licentious and Illegal practiſes, If not timely prevented, Hath Thought fit by his Royal Proclamation, (with the Advice of his Privy Council) ſtrictly to prohibit and forbid all perſons whatſoever to Print or Publiſh any News-Books, or Pamphlets of News not Licenſed by his Majeſties Authority. And to the Intent all Offenders may Know their Danger, and Deſiſt from any further proceedings of this Kind, His Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed hereby to Declare, That they ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the Utmoſt Severity of the Law: And for that purpoſe His Majeſty doth hereby Will and Command all his Judges, Juſtices of Peace, and all other his Officers and Miniſters of Juſtice whatſoever, That they take Effectual Care that all ſuch as ſhall offend in the Premiſes, be proceeded againſt and puniſhed according to their demerits.

There was ſcarce any thing more Clamoured againſt than the Proceedings upon this Proclamation, as if all the Liberties of the Subject in *England* had Conſiſted in this, that they might be deluded and abuſed, terrified and affrighted, flattered and enticed, by whoſoever had the Impudence to Undertake it, and that Weekly.

Theſe Sorts of News-Mongers in the Interim are indeed nothing but a ſort of State Tale-bearers: Now to make the Miſchief more Apparent, to any man that is fond of this Sort of Traſh, let them but conſider what would follow in a private Family, if the Maſter of it ſhould permit this Sort of Vermin to Act at Liberty what Feuds, Heart-burnings, Fears, Diſtruſts and Mutual Hatreds would ariſe; ſo that no man could be able to maintain the Peace of his own houſe, if he might not

puniſh nor turn out ſuch perſons. Now the ſame Conſequences, onely much worſe, muſt needs follow in a City, Country, or Kingdom; for in a private Family the truth of things may be eaſily found out, the Parties being together; and yet 'tis a mighty trouble to peaceable people to be always contending and proving againſt others: but in the other inſtance it is impoſſible oftentimes for an innocent perſon to repreſent his Innocency, or diſprove his Accuſer. Now if it be true of the meaneſt private perſon, That A Good Name is to be valued as a man's Life, how much more reaſonable is it that the Eſtimation of Princes, and Great Men ſhould not ly at the Mercy of a company of Mean Scriblers? It is uſually ſaid, *Malice ſpeaks well of no body*; but to be ſure if that be tainted with ambition and faction, the very poyſon of Aſps will be ſhot out upon the Governors that oppoſe and hinder their wicked Intentions and Deſigns.

Nor is all this a Speculation, but an Experimented Truth, the ſame Sort of Men by the ſame ways, in the Memory of Vaſt Numbers of Men, once before Ruined this Kingdom, and brought his Majeſty's Father to the Block; as He Himſelf hath Elegantly deſcribed it in his *Eikon Baſilike*, *Cap.* 15. Part of which is as followeth.

IF I had not my own Innocency, and Gods Protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt theſe Stratagems and Conflicts of Malice, which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſs the Truth, and by Jealouſies *to ſupply the defect of Real* Cauſes, *which might ſeem to Juſtifie ſo Unjuſt Engagements againſt Me.*

And indeed the worſt effects of upon Hoſtility come ſhort of theſe Deſigns: For I can more willingly Looſe my Crowns then my Credit; Nor are my Kingdoms ſo dear to Me as My Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe

Those must have a Period with my Life, but these may Survive to a Glorious Kind of Immortality when I am dead and gone: A good Name being the Embalming of Princes, and a sweet Consecrating of them to an Eternity of Love and Gratitude among Posterity.

Those Foul and False Aspersions were Secret Engines at first employed against My Peoples Love of Me: That Undermining their Opinion *and* Value *of Me, my Enemies, and theirs might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyalty.———*

If they had been my Open and Foraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must be my own Subjects, who are, next to my Children, dear to me.———

The Noise of my Evil Counsellors was another useful Device. For those, who were impatient any mens Counsels but their own should be followed in Church or State; who were So Eager in giving Me better Counsel, that they would not give me Leave to take it with Freedom, as a Man; or Honour, as a King; making their Counsels more like a Drench that must be poured down, than a Draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not Justifie beyond humane Errours and Frailties my Self, or my Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more Reparable by Second and better thoughts than those enormious Extravagances, wherewith some men have Now even wildred, and almost quite Lost both Church and State.

The Event of things at last will make it evident to my Subjects, That had I followed the worst Counsels, that my worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Me, or my Self any Inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in Three Flourishing Kingdoms to such a Chaos *of Confusions and Hell of Miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot or will not in*

the

the Midſt of their many great Advantages, redeem either Me or my Subjects.

I cannot ſuffer ſo much in Point of Honour, by thoſe Rude and Scandalous PAMPHLETS, *(which like fire in great Conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) as thoſe men do; who pretending ſo much to Piety, are ſo forgetful of their Duty to God and Me: by no ways ever Vindicating the Majeſty of their King againſt any of thoſe who contrary to the Precept of God, and Precedent of Angels, ſpeak evil of Dignities, and bring Rayling Accuſations againſt thoſe, who are honoured with the Name of Gods: but 'tis no wonder if Men not fearing God, ſhould not honour their King.*

Thus far That Illuſtrious Saint and Martyr, who felt the Heat and ſuffered the Scorchings; firſt, of thoſe Tongues that are ſet on fire by Hell; and after of theſe Pamphlet-Flakes and Sparks which raiſed ſuch a Fire in His Three Kingdoms, as occaſioned his Ruine, and Murther; and the Baniſhing of his Wife and Children, and were likely enough to have ended in the total and everlaſting Ruine of the *Engliſh* Church and Nation.

And can any man believe it reaſonable that his Son our preſent Moſt Gracious Soveraign, ſhould ſit ſtill and Suffer Himſelf and his Miniſters, his Judges and his Officers both Civil and Military, to be repreſented to his People in the moſt Odious Manner that Malice can invent, and a Thouſand falſe ridiculous Lyes and Slanders to be vented againſt him and them! No ſurely, it can never be expected; and were not another Rebellion deſigned, it would never be deſired: Thus the Laſt began, and thus the Next muſt begin. We have the Teſtimony of His Majeſty's Father and our own Remembrance for the one; and we are Senſible how far things

are

are Advanced of late that way, for a proof of the other. And if theſe hot-headed Religious Lyers think it reaſonable that for fear of the Unjuſt reproach of Aſſerting Arbitrary Government, the hazard ſhould be run of having no Government, I hope they will find themſelves deceived, and I am ſure his Majeſty hath not one Loyal Subject in all his Three Kingdoms that is not of this mind.

My Lord *Coke* in the *Pleas of the Crown* tells us, That the Law before the Conqueſt was, That the Author and Spreader of Falſe Rumours amongſt the People had his Tongue cut out, if he redeemed it not by the Eſtimation of his Head: And ſurely the Printing of ſuch is not a leſs but a greater Crime, and deſerves a greater puniſhment. Cap. 93. *Inſt. leg. Aluered.* Cap. 28.

And in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, one *Stubbs* had his Right hand Cut off for writing a Libel againſt the Queen, as *Camden* tells us; which *Stubbs* was Brother in Law to *Carthwright* the famous *Puritan* Preacher in thoſe days. *Anno* 1581.

By a *Statute* made the 3 *Ed.* 1. *Cap.* 33. it was Enacted, *That from thenceforth none ſhould be ſo hardy to Tell or Publiſh any Falſe Newes or Tales, whereby Diſcord or Slander may Grow between the King and his People, or the Great Men of the Realm; And he that doth ſo, ſhall be taken and kept in Priſon until he hath brought him into the Court which was firſt Author of the Tale.* Which is confirmed, 2 *Rich.* 2. *Cap.* 5. And again, 12 *Rich.* 2. *Cap.* 11. with this addition, *That if the Offender could not find his Author, He ſhould be puniſhed by the Advice of the Council.* Both which *Statutes* are ſtill in force: tho thoſe of the 1 & 2 *P. M. Cap.* 13. & 1 *Eliz.* 6. upon which *Stubbs* was puniſhed, are Expired. So that here is no Need of Arbitrary proceeding to puniſh ſuch Diſ-

orders,

orders, when a due Execution of theſe Old *Statutes* might do the buſineſs.

The 22. of *June*, 1680. The Rebel *Scots* endeavouring to renew their Rebellion, 21 perſons Aſſembled, and after a Solemn Proceſſion and Singing of *Pſalms*, Publiſhed and affixed on the Croſs at *Sanchar* a Paper, wherein they declare for themſelves, *And all that will Adhere to them as the Repreſentatives of the true* Presbyterian *Church and Covenanted Nation of* Scotland, *they do diſown* Charles Stuart *who has been Raigning, or rather Tyrannizing on the Throne of* Brittain *theſe Years paſt, as having any Right or Title to, or Intereſt in the Crown of* Scotland *or Government, as Forfeited ſeveral Years ſince by his Perjury and Breach of Covenant with God and his Church, and Uſurpation of his Crown and Royal Prerogatives therein, &c.* So they proceeded to Excommunicate and Depoſe his Majeſty, and 70 Perſons took up Arms againſt him, the chief of which were *Donald Cargile*, and one *Hall*, who were Actually in the Laſt Rebellion.

Theſe men ſwore either to other, *That if any perſon who ſhould joyn with them, ſhould afterwards ſubmit to the King upon any account whatſoever, or own him for their King, the reſt ſhould Butcher the Party ſo ſubmitting.* So that ſeveral of them being taken, and upon Tryal found Guilty of this Horrid and Diviliſh Conſpiracy, choſe rather to Suffer as Traytors, than to own their King, or ask a Pardon from him, as fearing a worſer Death from their fellow Conſpirators, than the Law would inflict upon them.

Now I would deſire my Country-men to Conſider Seriouſly, whether the Popiſh Tenents are worſe than theſe *Presbyterian* Doctrines; and whether his Majeſty

is

is not as much in danger to fall by the hands of one of theſe reformed Aſſaſſinates, as by a Conſecrated Jeſuite.

On *Thurſday* the 21. of *October*, 1680. The long Expected and impatiently Deſired Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*; And I will now attend it, to ſee whether it were ſuch as anſwered the hopes of theſe Petitioners, who had boaſted of it as a Maſter-Piece, and which was to Confound all they were pleaſed to Call Popery. Which Parliament his Majeſty began with this Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE ſeveral Prorogations I have made, have been very advantagious to Our Neighbours, and Very Uſeful to Me; for I have imployed that time in making and perfecting an Alliance with the Crown of Spain, *ſuitable to that which I had before with the* States of the United Provinces, *and they alſo had with* Spain, *Conſiſting of Mutual Obligations of Succour and Defence.*

I have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, that what was ſo much deſired by former Parliaments, muſt needs be very grateful to you now: for tho ſome perhaps may wiſh theſe Meaſures had been taken ſooner, yet no man can with reaſon think it is now too Late; for they who deſire to make theſe Alliances, and they who deſire to break them, ſhew themſelves of another Opinion.

And as theſe are the beſt Meaſures that could be taken for the Safety of England *and Repoſe of Chriſtendom, So they cannot fail to attain their End, and to ſpread and improve themſelves further, if Our Diviſions at home do not render Our Friendſhip leſs Conſiderable abroad.*

To prevent theſe as much as may be, I think fit to renew to you all the Aſſurances which can be deſired, That nothing

ſhall be wanting on My part to give you the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts can wiſh, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, which I am fully reſolved to maintain againſt all the Conſpiracies of Our Enemies, and to Concur with You in any new Remedies which ſhall be propoſed, that may Conſiſt with the preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent.

And in Order to this, I do recommend to You, to purſue the further Examination of the Plot, *with a ſtrict and impartial Enquiry. I do not think My Self Safe nor You neither, till that Matter be gone thro with; and therefore it will be neceſſary that the Lords in the* Tower *be brought to their ſpeedy Tryal that Juſtice may be done.*

I need not tell you what danger the City of Tangier *is in, nor of what Importance it is to Us to preſerve it. I have with a mighty Charge and Expence ſent a very Conſiderable Relief thither; but Conſtantly to maintain ſo great a Force as that War will require, and to make thoſe New Works and Fortifications, without which the Place will not be long Teneable, amounts to ſo Vaſt a Sum, that without Your Support it will be impoſſible for me to undergo it. Therefore I lay the matter plainly before You, and deſire Your Advice and Aſſiſtance.*

But that which I Value above all the Treaſure in the World, and which I am Sure will give Me greater Strength and Reputation both at home and abroad then any Treaſure can do, is a perfect UNION amongſt Our Selves.

Nothing but this can reſtore the Kingdom to that Strength and Vigor which it ſeems to have Loſt, and raiſe Us again to that Conſideration which England *hath Uſually had.*

All Europe *have their Eyes upon this Aſſembly, and think their own Happineſs or Miſery as well as Ours will depend upon it.*

If

If We ſhould be So Unhappy as to fall into ſuch Miſ-Underſtanding among Our Selves, as ſhould render Our Friendſhip unſafe to truſt to, it will not be Wondred at, if Our Allies ſhould begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as may be Fatal to Us.

Let Us therefore take Care that We do not Gratifie Our Enemies, and Diſhearten Our Friends by any Unſeaſonable Diſputes.

If any ſuch do happen, the World will ſee it is no fault of Mine; for I have done all that was poſſible for Me to do, to Keep You in Peace while I live, and to Leave You So when I die.

But from ſo great Prudence and ſo good Affections as Yours, I can fear Nothing of this Kind; but to Rely upon You all, That You will uſe Your beſt Endeavours to bring this Parliament to a Good and Happy Concluſion.

The Lord Chancellor made no Speech at all, His Majeſty giving himſelf the whole Trouble of this Affair, hoping his Words would the more be Conſidered by them, and the buſineſs the more zealouſly purſued.

The Houſe of Commons being returned, and a Motion made, That *William Williams* Eſq; ſhould be choſen *Speaker*; It was Reſolved in the Affirmative, *Nemine Contradicente*; who forthwith made two Speeches in the Houſe, which are Printed in the *Votes*, one to Excuſe himſelf by reaſon of his inſufficiency, by reaſon of the difficulty both of the Place, and Things to be tranſacted. But that being refuſed, he made a Second, which ſhew'd more the temper of the Man; and is as followeth.

Gentlemen,

I Tremble when I reflect under what difficulties Learned, Experienced, and Wise Men have Laboured in this Chair: Yet I am not afraid of their President who impaired their Estates and Health, no nor of them who lost their Lives in this Service. These are a Sacrifice I owe my Country. But when I suffer my self to think that some Gentlemen have Maimed their Reputation in this Trust, these Thoughts are dreadful to me, and must yet strike deeper with me, unless you that called me hither shall please to Stand by me, Cherish and Support me in all the difficulties of this Place. I have it by your Courtesie, and shall hold it at your Pleasure; and I have this to Secure me, If I fall, I fall into the Hands of Gentlemen that made me what I am in Your Service.

I doubt not but you will remember, your own Minister, your own ONELY, *your own* INTIRELY, *placed in this Service without Seeking, without Recommending: I expect No Boon, but your Grace and Favour to depart as I came, when you shall please to Command me, without repenting.*

Some have said these Speeches were never made in the House, but added afterwards to the *Votes*; tho it's possible they might be designed: but that is nothing to the purpose. In my poor Judgment this last Speech is lyable to many great Exceptions, and for which he would certainly have been eased of this Laborious and Dangerous Imployment under any Prince but the Mildest of Men with whom he had now to do.

First he might have treated his Predecessors in that Chair with more respect, than to take notice of them

that

that had Maimed their Reputation; which as they were not many, ſo that thought might with more Humility and Candour have been kept to himſelf; and the rather, becauſe one preſent had had the Misfortune to be repreſented diſadvantagiouſly in the latter end of the former Parliament; and this looked more like an inſulting Bravado, than a Modeſt Excuſe. It had been good he had taken the Lord *Verulam*'s Counſel, *Eſſay* the 11. *Uſe the Memory of thy Predeceſſor Fairly, and Tenderly; for if thou doſt not, it is a Debt, will Surely be paid, when thou art Gone.*

In the Second Paragraph he flies higher, and is not content to tell them that he is their *Miniſter*, without he added, *Onely*, and *Intirely*. Now another man would have left out theſe words, or have added ſomething to them, to declare his Loyal Intention to his Prince too, whoſe Miniſter the *Speaker* is more properly than the Houſes, whoſe Place he holds there, and from whom he hath his Authority, tho he hath his Nomination from the Commons; nor is he a *Speaker* at all till the King hath approved of their Choyce.

His Majeſty to avoid any Conteſt about a *Speaker*, had it ſeems not Recommended any Perſon to them, as is uſual; and he takes Notice of that too, but in ſuch a manner, as looks more like a Triumph over his Majeſty, than any thing elſe, as having gained that point upon him by the laſt Conteſt, when he tells them he was placed in that Service *without Seeking, without Recommending*: And in the Next place he tells them, *He Expects no other Boon, but by their Grace and Favour to depart as he came, without repenting.* He may poſſibly prove a Prophet, and as he ſeems to ſcorn his Prince's Favour, ſo he may ever want an opportunity of Refuſing it.

On *Friday* the Houſe of Commons attended his Majeſty with their *Speaker*, where he that hath entred two Speeches to the Commons, is not pleaſed to Enter that which was made to his Majeſty, but onely tells us that he made claim by Humble Petition in the Name of the Commons of *England* in *Parliament Aſſembled, of the Antient Rights of the Commons for them and their Servants in their Perſons and Eſtates, to be free from Arreſts and other diſturbances; in all their Debates to have Freedom and Liberty of ſpeech; and as occaſion ſhould require, to have Acceſs to his Majeſties Perſon.* Which was allowed by the King.

But tho he hath not been pleaſed to Print his own Speech, there was one given out for the Information of the People in Writing, which was as followeth.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

THE Houſe of Commons have been pleaſed to Make uſe of ME for their Speaker, *and Have preſented me for Your Majeſties Approbation. It is a Place of great Weight and Pains: Both by my Education and Profeſſion I have been always uſed to Labour and Induſtry,* Therefore *I will (by Your Majeſties Approbation) endeavour to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in me.*

If this were the Preface to the Three Demands or Petitions, I cannot blame him for not Printing it, no more then I can commend him for making one ſo totally different from what uſed to be ſaid on ſuch occaſions.

But a man may ſmile to ſee how finely the man had digeſted and put over all his trembling fears in one Nights time, when he called to mind his Education and Profeſſion, which he had totally forgot the day before,

and

and now having conſidered better, did not think it was fit to ask his Majeſty to diſcharge a perſon ſo wonderfully qualified for the Place, as all other had done before him, being, it ſeems, not ſo ſenſible that by their Education and Profeſſion they had been uſed to Labour and Induſtry.

And 'tis pretty to ſee how his Majeſties Approbation is put into a parentheſis; as if one ſhould ſay it was Needleſs, and ſcarce worth the asking, and the Sence of what he was to ſpeak would have been perfect without it.

But ſuch was his Majeſty's Goodneſs, that he eaſily paſſed over theſe things, tho they were apparent encroachments upon his Royal Prerogative, and ſuch too as another Prince would have ſtomached. He ſought the good of his People more than any thing, and for that cauſe bore theſe diſorders.

On *Munday* the 25. of *October* the Lords ſent down an *Addreſs* they had made to his Majeſty for the Pardon of all ſuch perſons as ſhould come in and diſcover any thing further of the *Plot* within two Months; and with it his Majeſties Anſwer, which was as followeth.

HIS *Majeſty hath Conſidered of the* Addreſs *made by the Houſe, and is ſo willing to Encourage all perſons who know of any Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon and Government, that he will cauſe his Royal Proclamation to Iſſue, declaring, That he will fully Pardon and Secure all perſons who ſhall make ſuch diſcovery, not Onely during the ſpace of Two Months as is deſired, but at any time after, whenſoever ſuch diſcovery ſhall be made.*

The

The next day the Commons reſolved to make an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty to the ſame purpoſe.

And Mr. *Dangerfield* the diſcoverer and great Agent in the *Meal-Tub Plott*, which was a Silly deſign of the Papiſts to turn their Plott upon the *Presbyterians*, mentioning Sir *Robert Peyton*, a Member of their Houſe, in this Information.

They referred it to a Committee to Examine theMaters touching Sir *Robert Peiton*, and to report the ſame to the Houſe: And then Reſolved *Nemine Contradicente*,

That it was the Opinion of their Houſe to proceed effectually to ſuppreſs Popery, and *Prevent a Popiſh Succeſſor.*

On *Wedneſday* the 27*th* of *October*, they agreed the ſaid *Addreſs*, which was as followeth.

WE Your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, being highly Zealous for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, Your Majeſties Sacred Perſon and Government, and reſolving to purſue with a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry the Execrable Popiſh Plot which was detected in the Two Laſt Parliaments, and has been Supported and Carried on by potent and reſtleſs Practiſes and Machinations, eſpecially during the late Receſſes of Parliaments, whereby ſeveral perſons have been terrified and diſcouraged from declaring their Knowledg thereof: moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, That for the Security of ſuch perſons who ſhall be willing o give Evidence, or make further Satisfactory Diſcovery concer ning the ſame to this Houſe, Your Majeſty would be pleaſed to Iſſue Your Royal Proclamation, aſſuring all the ſaid perſons, of your Gra-

cious

cious Pardon, if they ſhall give Evidence, or make ſuch Diſcovery within two Months after the date of ſuch Proclamation.

There was two Exceptions taken to this Addreſs by others, Tho I find none made in the Houſe, *viz.*

The firſt was, That in the height of their Zeal they forgot to tell his Majeſty what Proteſtant Religion they meant or deſired to preſerve, for there being in *England* many not onely ſeveral but contrary Religions, which yet may be Comprehended under that General term of *Proteſtant*. Some of which are worſe than Popery, they were not to be preſerved but Suppreſſed, if it might be; Except they intended in oppoſition to Popery to uphold all the Hereſies and Schiſmes that aroſe in the late Rebellion amounting to near Eightſcore, as they have been counted; but then it had been better to have called them *Proteſtant Religions*: for it is a perfect piece of Nonſence to call theſe Contrary and Contending Factions, who do mutually endeavour to Ruine each other, tho they are now Combined as much againſt the Religion that is Eſtabliſhed, as againſt Popery, and to Act againſt it with more fury than they do againſt Popery; I ſay it is Nonſence to call theſe Conjoyntly Religion, when if there be or ever were any ſuch things as different Religions in the World, theſe are ſuch, and they are as Contrary to the Religion eſtabliſhed, and each to other as they are to Popery.

Hitherto the Parliaments had always qualified that looſe general word, with ſuch terms as theſe, *Eſtabliſhed*, or by *Law Eſtabliſhed*, or the like; and ſometimes not ſo much as mentioned the Word *Proteſtant*, which is very improperly affixed to any Party of the Reformed

Religions of *England*, there being perhaps never a *Lutheran* in *England*, to take it ſtrictly.

But we ſhall ſee afterwards that it was not a Caſual or Accidental omiſſion here, but as theſe Proteſtants at Large had advanced the greater part of theſe Commons into that high dignity, ſo they were reſolved, to lift them up above the Church and Laws by way of Reward, tho the Peace of the Nation and the Government were Ruined by it.

The Second thing objected was, That they Tacitly and Injuriouſly reflected upon His Majeſty in their Pretences, That during the Receſs of Parliament, ſeveral perſons had been terrified and diſcouraged from declaring their Knowledg of the Plot. As for the *Receſſes*, *Prorogations* and *Diſſolutions* of the Parliaments, they were apparently forced upon the King much againſt his Will by the unreaſonable Heats, Feuds, and Irregularities of the Commons, and ſo the King was not to be blamed; and all that would Inform any thing concerning the *Plott* in theſe Intervals had been as Kindly uſed by the King and Councel, as they could have been by the Parliament. So that this was, as I ſaid, an Injurious Reflection upon His Majeſty and the Government, and was an Argument of an ill temper, and could not but diſguſt his Majeſty.

Their limiting their Petition of Pardon to onely ſuch perſons as made any Diſcovery to their Houſe, was look't upon as much reſtrain'd; for if the Diſcovery were really and effectually made, what matter was it to what houſe or perſon it was made. But it may be this might not be intended by them for any ſuch purpoſe as the limiting of the thing to them, tho in effect it did ſo, and therefore I ſhall paſs it over.

From

From this *Addreſs* the Houſe proceeded to the *Votes* about the Petitions; which were as followeth.

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente. Which ſhewes the Strength of the party, and not the Conſent of the whole Houſe.

That it is, and Ever hath been, the Undoubted Right of the Subjects of England, *to Petition the King for the Calling and Sitting of Parliaments, and Redreſſing of Grievances.*

Reſolved, N. C.

That to traduce ſuch Petitioning (howſoever managed, for ſo it muſt ſignifie, or elſe it will conclude nothing from the Other as a Principle) *as a Violation of Duty, and to repreſent it to his Majeſty as Tumultuous and Seditious, is to betray the Liberty of the Subject, and Contributes to the Deſign of Subverting the Antient Legal Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, and introducing* Arbitrary Power.

Ordered,

That a Committee be appointed to inquire of all ſuch perſons as have offended againſt theſe Rights of the Subjects.

Reſolved,

That an Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, declaring the Reſolution of this Houſe to Preſerve and Support the King's Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion at home and abroad.

This laſt ſeemed to ſweeten the Crudity of the former *Votes*, and to Countenance and Juſtifie one of the greateſt diſorders that Contributed to the Ruine of his Father.

As to their firſt *Vote*, which is their Principle, it is

granted *modo & forma* as they have ſet it down.

But the Second is too general, and an Undeniable foundation for Rebellion, as hath been Experimented: for all the Controverſie was here about the manner of Petitioning, *viz.* Whether a few private men might agree upon a Petition, and then ſend Emiſſaries abroad to procure Hundreds and Thouſands of Ignorant people to Subſcribe it, and then tender it to his Majeſty, as it were by the Number to fright him into a Complyance with them againſt his declared Reſolution to the Contrary: if this might be allowed, the Liberty of the Subject would ſoon eat up the Prerogative of the King, and diſorder this or any other Government in the World.

Lord Bacon's Hiſt. of H. 7.

In the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, one *Thomas Flammock*, a Lawyer, thought he could make a Rebellion and never break the Peace; and the People of *Cornwall* being diſcontented about ſome Subſidies granted to the King, he perſwades them that it was not good they ſhould ſtand like Sheep before the Shearers, but put on Harneſs and take *Weapons* in their hands: yet to do no Creature hurt, but go and deliver the King a *Strong Petition*, for the Laying down of thoſe grievous *Payments*, and for the Puniſhment of thoſe that had given him that Counſel, and to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And he ſaid for his part, *He did not ſee how they could do the Duty of true Engliſhmen and good Liege-men, except they did deliver the King from ſuch Wicked ones, that would deſtroy both him and the Country*; or in the Language of our dayes, *introduce Arbitrary Power.*

And accordingly 16000 men armed, aſſembled, and marched from *Cornwal* to *Black-Heath* in *Kent* Modeſtly and Quietly enough, Except that at *Taunton* in *Somerſetſhire*

merſetſhire they killed, in fury, an Officious and Eager Commiſſioner for the Subſidy, whom they called the Provoſt of *Perin*: but by that time they came at *Black-Heath*, they Threatned either to bid Battle to the King (for now the Seas went higher than his Councellors) or to take *London* within his View; imagining themſelves, there to find no leſs fear than wealth. And accordingly they perſiſted, till the King having drawn out his Forces and Surrounded them, he fought them, and killed 20000, and took all the reſt Priſoners.

Now I would Know whether this *Strong Petition* was Juſtifiable, and whether if any body in our dayes ſhould perſwade a Number of Men to Act this over again, it would be an offence againſt the Rights of the Subjects, to abhor ſuch Petitioning as a Violation of Duty, and repreſent it to his Majeſty as Tumultuous and Seditious, or rather plainly Rebellious; and it would be worth the while to try whether *Flammock's Strong Petition* may not be Juſtified by theſe *Votes*, as they now ſtand penned: for it doth not appear that any ſort of Petitioning whatſoever, may be oppoſed by the *Votes*.

But it may be replyed, That here were no men in Arms in the caſe of the Petition in hand; but what then, if there ſhould be for the future, theſe *Votes* will Juſtify them too; for if the People may Petition for the Calling or Sitting of a Parliament, or Redreſſing of Grievances, when and howſoever they pleaſe, and no man may hinder them, then is Honeſt Old Father *Flammock's Strong Petition*, which was for the Redreſs of two Notable Grievances, fairly Juſtifiable, if it were now to be acted over again: But if the People be allowed to Petition, but not any way, it had been fit to have told us, and them, what manner

manner of way they were allowed to Petition, as well as for what; for that was the main thing in queſtion.

But ſeeing they were not ſo kind to the People, I will try if I cannot direct them into a better courſe the next time they ſhall have an Occaſion to Petition the King for the *Calling* and *Sitting* of *Parliaments*, and *Redreſsing of Grievances*. And to that purpoſe I will here inſert a whole *Act* of *Parliament*.

XIII *Car.* 2. *Cap.* V.

An Act againſt Tumults and Diſorders, upon pretence of Preparing or Preſenting Publick Petitions, or Addreſſes to His Majeſty or the Parliament.

WHEREAS it hath been found by Sad Experience, That Tumultuous and other Diſorderly Soliciting, and Procuring of Hands by private perſons, to Petitions, Complaints, Remonſtrances and Declarations, and Other Addreſſes to the King, or both, or either Houſes of Parliament; 1. For Alteration of Matters Eſtabliſhed by Law. 2. Redreſs of pretended Grievances in Church or State: 3. Or other Publick Concerments, have been made uſe of, to ſerve the ends of Factious and Seditious perſons gotten into power, to the Violation of the Publick Peace, and have been a great means of the late Unhappy Wars, Confuſions

Confuſions and Calamities in this Nation. For preventing the like Miſchiefs for the future.

Be it Enacted by the Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty, by and with the Conſent of the Lords & Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, That no perſon or perſons whatſoever, ſhall from and after the Firſt of Auguſt *One thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and one, ſollicite, labour or procure the getting of Hands, or other Conſent of any perſons above the number of Twenty or more, to* Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance, *any* Declaration *or other* Addreſs *to the King, or both, or either Houſes of Parliament, for alteration of Matters Eſtabliſhed by Law, in Church or State, Unleſs the Matter thereof have been firſt Conſented unto, and Grdered by Three or more Juſtices of the County, or by the Major part of the Grand Jury of the County, or Diviſion of the County, where the ſame matter ſhall ariſe, at their Publick Aſſizes, or General Quarter-Seſſions; or if ariſing in* London, *by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common Councel aſſembled; And that no perſon or perſons whatſoever ſhall repair to his Majeſty, or both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, upon pretence of preſenting, or delivering any* Petition, Complaint, Remonſtrance *or* Declaration, *or other* Addreſſes, *accompanied with Exceſsive Numbers of People,* * *not at any one time above the number of Ten perſons,*

* Nor upon

upon pain of Incurring a penalty not exceeding the Sum of One hundred pounds in Money, and Three Moneths Impriſonment without Bail or Mainpriſe for every offence, to be proſecuted at the Court of Kings-Bench, *or at the* Aſſizes *or* General Quarter-Seſſions, *within Six Months after the Offence committed, and proved by two or more Credible Witneſſes.*

Provided always, *That this* Act *or any thing therein contained, ſhall not be Conſtrued to Extend to debar or hinder any perſon or perſons, not exceeding the Number of Ten aforeſaid, to repreſent any publick or private* Grievance *or* Complaint *to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election, and during the Continuance of the Parliament, or to the Kings Majeſty, for any Remedy thereupon to be had, or to Extend to any* Addreſs *whatſoever to his Majeſty by all or any of the Members of both or either Houſes of Parliament during the Sitting of the Parliament, but that they may enjoy their Freedom of Acceſs to his Majeſty as heretofore hath been uſed.*

Now had this Act of Parliament been purſued, I believe there would have been no Controverſie in this caſe; and there was great reaſon it ſhould, * By reaſon of the Unquietneſs of the Times, when every thing ſeemed to tend to the renewing of thoſe Calamities the Act mentions in the *Preface*, and was made to prevent.

* *Becauſe.*

But ſuppoſing it had been never ſo Regular, what reaſon

reaſon can be aſſigned why one part of the People ſhould be freer to Petition for any thing, than the other was againſt it, if one party may for the inſtance Petition the King to change his Mind after he hath declared it in any cauſe, why is not the other part as free to deſire him not to change? now that which may ſeem a publick *Grievance* to one County or Place, may be a great Advantage to another, and they are totally debarred of all means of Maintaining their preſent advantage, if they may not Counter-Petition.

But in this caſe here the perſons that Petitioned were private men, and contrary to the expreſs Letter of this Act, ſolicited hands in an irregular way; and ſuch ſort of hands, as beſides their Number, were of No Conſideration; for the directions that they ſent with the Petitions, were, That it mattered not whether they were Gentlemen, or ſo much as Free-holders, ſo they were Numerous. Now let any man conſider whether it be reaſonable that a company of Rude Country Clowns, and a parcel of Pragmatical Apron-men, ſhould contrary to his Majeſty's Proclamation pretend themſelves wiſe enough to Adviſe his Majeſty when the Parliament ſhould Sit. But if it be alledged, That there were others beſides theſe: why were not theſe totally left out? why was there ſuch care that the Subſcriptions ſhould be ſo Numerous? did theſe ſmall Folk add any weight to the Adviſe? No ſurely.

On the other Hand, they that appeared againſt them were Parliament men themſelves, Juſtices of the Peace, Grand Juries at Aſſizes and Seſſions, Common-Councels and Magiſtrates in Corporations, men full as likely to Underſtand what was fit to be done, and as Unlikely

to betray the true Liberties of the People on the one hand, or to invade the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown on the other; but then theſe were men true to the Religion and Government by Law eſtabliſhed; and the Petitioners were of the ſame ſort, for the moſt part, with them that had brought on the former Calamities by this and other ſuch ſpecious and popular pretences, to the ruine both of King and People, Prerogative and Liberty: and therefore the more juſtly ſuſpected to be playing over the Old Game.

Thus much may ſuffice concerning the *Votes*; And now let us ſee how they proceeded againſt the pretended Offenders. And in the firſt place Sir *Francis Withens*, a Member of their Houſe, being accuſed on this Account as an offender againſt the Rights of the Subject, who was not then preſent, It was

Ordered,

That Notice ſhould be given him to attend in his place the next Morning.

On *Thurſday October* 28.

Sir *F. Withins* appearing in his place, It was ordered that the Clerk of the Peace for *Weſtminſter* ſhould attend the Houſe the next Morning at Ten of the Clock with the Roll of the Orders for the Laſt *Eaſter* Seſſions for the City of *Weſtminſter*.

Then they fell upon an Information which had been given the Houſe againſt Sir *Robert Yeomans* of *Briſtol*, and Sir *Robert Cann*, a Member of the Houſe, That they did in *October* 1679, Publickly declare, *That there was no Popiſh Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot.*

Which was atteſted againſt them by Mr. *Row*, Sword-Bearer of *Briſtol*, and Sir *John Knight* a Member of the Houſe,

House. Sir *Robert Cann* being to make his defence, Uttered several Reproachful and Reflecting words against Sir *John Knight*, for which he was called to the Bar, and received a Reprehension on his Knees, and then being ordered to withdraw, they Voted he should be committed to the * *Tower*, and Expelled the House; and that Sir *Robert Yeomans* should be sent for in Custody of the Serjeant attending their House.

* Where he lay till the 8th of *Novemb.* & then was discharged.

This weighty affair took up the whole day, and it had been well spent, if the Popish Plot had been made one jot the plainer, or the Presbyterian Plot ever so little taken off by it; but the World was full as well satisfied of the truth of the former before, notwithstanding what these Gentlemen had said to the Contrary; and much confirmed in the truth of the latter, by this Violent, if not Arbitrary way of proceeding against them.

For if these Gentlemen had offended against any Law, why were they not prosecuted in a Legal way, where they might have made a Legal defence, and have received a Legal Sentence? But here they had nothing but bare affirmations, without any witness to defend them; and a Sentence founded upon this as sharp, chargeable, and dishonourable as was possible. If this be the Liberty of the Subject, and these men our defenders from Arbitrary Government——

On *Friday October* 29. Sir *George Downing* having obtained Leave to bring in a Bill for wearing of the Woollen Manufacture of *England*; The House Ordered that Dr. *Tongue* should be recommended to his Majesty for the first Considerable Church-Preferment that should happen to become void in the Kingdom. And then the *Speaker* Reported his Majesty's Answer to the *Address*

concerning Pardons, which is recited above; which Anſwer was,

THat he did intend to direct ſuch a Proclamation, and was reſolved not onely to proſecute the Plot, but Popery alſo, and to take Care of the Proteſtant Religion Eſtabliſhed by Law; *and if We joyn, and the Lower Houſe go on* Calmly *in their Debates, without heats, He did not doubt but to beat down Popery and all that belongs to it.*

This Anſwer will ſtand upon Record againſt them, and Poſterity will certainly give them their due for Neglecting this Mild Admonition of this Meek Prince. But to go on, Mr. *Harbord* Reported the *Addreſs* for *the Support of the King's Perſon and Government, and the Proteſtant Religion both at Home and Abroad.* Which was as followeth.

WE Your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Obedient Subjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, Do with moſt Thankful Hearts Acknowledg, not Onely Your Majeſties many former Royal Declarations of Your Adherence *to the* * Proteſtant Religion, *in the Preſervation and Protection thereof, but Your further Manifeſtation of the ſame in Your Gracious Speech to both Houſes at the Opening of this preſent Parliament, in which Your Majeſty is pleaſed to Command us ſtrictly and impartially to proſecute the Horrid Popiſh Plot, without which we do fully aſſent to Your Majeſties great Judgment, That neither Your Perſon nor Government can be Safe, nor your Proteſtant Subjects, It being part of the very Religion of Popery, where it can obtain, to Extirpate all Proteſtants both Prince and People; which hath cauſed in the Times of Your Royal Anceſtors ſince the Reformation,*

* What *Proteſtant Religion*? why are not the words *by Law Eſtabliſhed*, here, as well as in his Majeſties Anſwer above?

ſormation, that great Care to oblige the Subjects againſt their return to the Papal Yoke, in the very ſame Oathes wherein they Swear Allegiance to their Prince. And as Now the Eyes of all the Proteſtant Kingdoms and States abroad are upon us, and looking upon Your Majeſty as the Royal Head of ſo many Proteſtant Countries, cannot but hope, upon a Happy and Solid Security in our Religion at Home, That your Majeſty will be the greateſt Protection to them, from whom we may expect a Mutual Aſſiſtance, as being involved in the ſame Common Danger: So we do humbly aſſure your Majeſty, That we ſhall be always ready to preſerve your Majeſties Perſon and Government, and to Support the Proteſtant Religion both at home and abroad: And do Humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to Eſteem all perſons whatſoever who ſhall otherwiſe repreſent Us to your Majeſty, as thoſe who deſign to divide between the King and his People, and to defeat the Meeting and Sitting of Parliaments, That thoſe Popiſh Deſigns may ſucceed, which they well know cannot otherwiſe proſper. And this they have made Undeniably Evident in the Interval of Parliaments, by Contriving, with unparallel'd Inſolence, a moſt Damnable and Wicked Deſign to transfer their own Crimes upon ſo many of your Majeſties Loyal Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry, hoping thereby to deſtroy thoſe who with the greateſt* Zeal *and* Integrity *endeavour to proſecute them.*

* What that by Law Eſtabliſhed, or another As contrary to it as Popery is?

The Effect of this Specious *Addreſs* to poſſeſs the People, what Stout Champions the *Presbyterians* are againſt Popery, and to Involve all them that had appeared againſt them, as Papiſts or Favourers of Papiſts, and to let the World know what a horrid opinion they had of that Silly-impoſſible-Meal-Tub-Sham Plot: And Certainly the Popiſh Party were much to blame to Lay their

their Treasons to the *Presbyterians*, who have too many of their own to answer for without this Accumulation of guilt from others Crimes. But as to their boast of their *Great Zeal* and *Integrity* in endeavouring to prosecute the *Popish Plot*, we shall be better able to judge of it in the Conclusion of this Session of Parliament.

Then the House Proceeded to Examine Sir *Francis Wythens* business, and it appearing by Witness and his own Confession, that he had presented an *Address* to his Majesty, expressing an Abhorrency to Petition his Majesty for the Calling and Sitting of Parliaments, they Voted him a Betrayer of the Undoubted Rights of the Subjects of *England*; and ordered him to be Expelled the House for this High Crime, and to receive his Sentence at the Bar upon his Knees. Which he submitted to.

Observe how they misrepresent this Gentleman, the *Address* he presented was drawn by the Bench at *Easter* Sessions for *Westminster*, and related onely to that Petition, and that Parliament, in those Circumstances; now as they word the business, it must signify that the *Address* was against *All Sorts of Petitions*, for the Sitting of Parliaments, in the plural Number; which is foul play to misrepresent the Matter of fact in a thing so lately done and well Known to every body in the very place where they Sit: but it was necessary it should be so worded, to Justify the Severity of the House, if that would have done.

This was the Second Member of Parliament they Expelled in a way that was look't on as Arbitrary, and unexampled; and this was the use they made of His Majesties Advice to proceed *Calmly*, and without *Heats*.

On

On *Saturday* the 30*th* of *October*, They paſſed a *Vote*,

That the *Votes* of their Houſe ſhould be Printed, *being firſt Peruſed and Signed by Mr. Speaker*, who was to Nominate and Appoint the perſons to Print the ſame.

From theſe Printed *Votes* I have Extracted what hath gone before and ſhall follow after; and to them I appeal for the truth of this Narrative of their Proceedings: and but for this *Vote* it might have been difficult to have known what they had done, ſo as to have charged them: By them alſo I have been encouraged to ſpeak my Mind more freely of this, than of the former Parliaments; for this Printing their *Votes* could be deſigned for Nothing but to enable the People to paſs a Judgment on their Actions; one of which Number I am.

Their next *Vote* was, *That they would proceed to the full Examination of the* Popiſh Plot, *in order to bring the Offenders to Juſtice.*

And then they Nominated a Committee to Inſpect the Journals of the Two laſt Parliaments; and Report their proceedings relating to the Popiſh Plot; and *Ordered*.

An *Addreſs* to his Majeſty for the Letters, Papers and Evidences which have been delivered to the Privy Council relating to the ſaid Plot.

This Afternoon they Waited upon his Majeſty with their *Addreſs for the Preſervation of his Perſon and Government*,&c.

On *Munday* the Firſt day of *November*, Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* told the Houſe, the Papers they had Addreſſed for, had been ſent to the Committee of the Houſe of Lords for Examination of the *Plot*, the 24*th* of *October*.

The

The Bill for wearing of Woollen, was alſo read and committed.

Then the *Speaker* Reported the King's Anſwer to their Addreſs for *Preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion*; which was as followeth.

I Thank you very heartily for your Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion: and I aſſure you there ſhall be nothing wanting on my part at Home or Abroad to preſerve it.

Sir *Francis Winnington* Chairman of the Committee for Inſpecting the Journals of the Two laſt Parliaments concerning the Proceedings relating to the Popiſh Plot, reported a general abſtract of the ſame; which was Ordered to be perfected, and that they ſhould inſpect thoſe of the Houſe of Lords for the ſame time.

Then one *Hardwich* a Linnen-Draper, being accuſed of ſome Miſdemeanors againſt one Seignior *Franciſco*, a Witneſs in the Popiſh Plot, was Ordered to be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant Attending their Houſe to anſwer the ſame. This was to puniſh a man before they knew whether he were guilty or no, upon a bare Suggeſtion.

On *Tueſday* the 2d. of *November*, A Bill for prohibiting the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel, was read and committed.

And then one *Harnage* was ordered to be brought to the Bar for abuſing *Franciſco Ferria*.

And then they Voted an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty for a pardon for *Dangerfield*, and that he would take him and Mr. *Dugdale*, Mr. *Prance* and this Seignior *F. Ferria* into his Royal Care and Protection.

But

But theſe were ſmall matters to what follow.

Reſolved Nemine Contradicente,

That the Duke of York's *being a Papiſt, and the Hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion.*

Reſolved, That in defence of the King's Perſon and Government, and of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes, and that if his Majeſty ſhall come by any violent death, (which God forbid) they will Revenge it to the Uttermoſt upon the Papiſts. (who ever did it.)

Reſolved,

That a Bill be brought in to diſable the Duke of York *to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm.*

On *Tueſday* the 3d. day of *November*, the Lords ſent down an Act they had paſſed for the better Regulating the Trials of the Peers of *England*, to which they deſired the Concurrence of the Commons; and it was read the ſame day and committed.

Mr. *Harnage* being then brought to the Bar, was continued in Cuſtody of the Serjeant during the Pleaſure of the Houſe. Not one tittle being inſerted concerning the Nature of his Miſdemeanor.

The Committee for Examination of the Journals were alſo appointed to inſpect the Impeachments againſt the Lords in the *Tower*, and the proceedings thereupon. And they were alſo to prepare Evidence againſt the ſaid Lords. And in the mean time they *Voted*,

Reſolved Nemine Contradicente,

That a Bill be brought in for the better Uniting of all

his Majesties Protestant Subjects. This was now a New Name for a *Toleration,* as I will make it appear.

Ordered,

That Sir Tho. Whitegrave *and Mr.* Birch *of* Stafford *Apothecary, and Lieutenant* Ellis *be sent for in Custody of the Serjeant, to answer to the Charge given against them by Mr.* Dugdale.

Ordered,

That Herbert Herring *be sent for in Custody, &c.* for a Notorious Breach of Priviledge by him committed against Mr. *Colt* a Member of their House; No account how or when being given.

But *Jeremiah Bubb* was onely Summoned to appear at the Bar to answer for a Breach of Priviledge committed against Mr. *Colt.*

The Bill for Prohibiting the Importation of *Irish* Cattel was read the second time, and committed.

And Leave was given to bring in a Bill for the Exportation of Leather.

On *Thursday* the 4*th* of *November* the said Bill was read the first time, and Ordered a second reading.

And then Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* Reported his Majesty's Answer concerning the Informers against the Popish Plot; which was, *That Care had, and should be taken of them.*

Ordered,

That a Committee be appointed to inspect the Act *intituled,* Trade Encouraged, *made in the* 15th *Year of his Majesties Reign, and to bring in a Bill for prohibiting of* Scotch *Cattel at certain Seasons.*

And

And then after ſome Debates and Votes concerning Elections, of which I ſhall take no Notice,

The Bill for diſabling the D. of *York* to Inherit, was read the firſt time and committed.

Ordered,

That a Committee be appointed to Inſpect the Laws that are in being, touching the Maintenance of the Poor; and to bring in a Bill or Bills for Regulating and preventing the encreaſe of the Poor in this Kingdom.

On *Saturday* the *6th* of *November* it was Ordered, *That a Committee be appointed to Inſpect the Law concerning the Anniverſary Reading of the Narrative of the* Gunpowder-Plot *in Churches, on every Fifth day of* November, *and to Report the ſame to the Houſe.*

Reſolved N. C. That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Acts of Parliament made in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth *and King* James *againſt Popiſh Recuſants, Ought not to be Extended againſt Proteſtant Diſſenters.*

It would have been well if we had been told why they ought not to be Extended to all that break them, one as well as another. And then how it ſhould be poſſible to diſtinguiſh theſe two Sorts of offenders one from the other, the offence being Exactly the ſame, tho the cauſe be a little different: And then thirdly, if a Bill had been brought in for that purpoſe, for the Votes of the Houſe of Commons are no binding Expoſitions of Law, nor I hope never will be. Laſtly, this Vote was needleſs, if the Bill of *Union* went on; and to no purpoſe if it did not; as I ſuppoſe they underſtand Now.

Ordered,

That a Committee be appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill for Repeal of all or any part of the Act of Parliament made in the 35th *Year of the Reign of Queen* Eliz. *Cap.*1. *Printed in the Statute Book of* Pulton.

This was a ſevere Act againſt the Diſſenters, and they were Now to be Countenanced and Encouraged to the utmoſt; for what end and purpoſe is not difficult to be gueſſed, by their Inſolence againſt the King and Government.

A Bill for Exportation of Cloth and other Woollen Manufactures into *Turkey* was read the firſt time and committed.

The Bill to diſable the Duke of *York* was read the Second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, with a Reſolution declared that it ſhould Extend to the Perſon of the Duke of *York* Onely; and that Committee was appointed on the next *Munday* Morning at Ten of the Clock: And accordingly it was that day Debated, and ſome Clauſes added to it.

On *Tueſday* the Ninth of *November* his Majeſty ſent the Commons another Meſſage by Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, which was as followeth.

CHARLES *R.*

HIS Majeſty deſires this Houſe, as well for the Satisfaction of his People as of Himſelf, to Expedite ſuch Matters as are depending before them, relating to Popery, and the Plot; *and would have them reſt aſſured, That all Remedies they can tender,*

to

to his Majeſty, conducing to thoſe Ends, ſhall be very acceptable to him; **Provided** *they be ſuch as may Conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent.*

On *Wedneſday* the 10*th* of *November*, A Bill for Regulating the Elections of Members to Serve in Parliament for the Houſe of Commons, was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read the ſecond time.

And the ſame day the Bill for prohibiting the Importation of *Iriſh* Cattel was read the third time and paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords.

Now let the Reader obſerve, there was not one Publick Bill paſſed through the Houſe of Commons in all this time, but this; and yet no Bill was more oppoſed than this: but here the priyate Concerns of the *North* and *Weſt* Country Gentlemen were Engaged, and therefore they carried it on Might and Main againſt all oppoſition; but as for any Bills againſt Popery, they took no care or thought: for that againſt the Duke of *York* may perhaps be made to appear to be of another Nature then was pretended, and rather againſt any thing then Popery.

The ſame day the Lords ſent down to the Commons a Bill which they had paſſed, for Freeing the City of *London*, and his Majeſty's Court and the Parts adjacent, from Popiſh Inhabitants, and providing againſt other Dangers which may ariſe from Papiſts. To which they deſired their Concurrence.

Note, That this Bill had been ſent down from the Lords before, and the Commons had loſt the opportunity of paſſing it, as you will ſee they will in this Seſſion

ſion alſo, tho there were Tragical repreſentations made of the Danger the City and Nation were in from the Vaſt Numbers of them which were Seated in and about the City of *London*: The truth is, it was not convenient to looſe any thing that might ſerve to fright the People, and much better to have Papiſts in *London* for that purpoſe, than to have them ſent elſewhere, and looſe the means of Fermenting the Rabble. But if men were not as willing to be or at leaſt ſeem to be cheated, as others are to delude them, they would ſoon perceive whoſe intereſt it is to keep them in Fears and Jealouſies, and after diſcharge their Bug-bears, or turn their rage another way.

The ſame day they Voted an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty, in anſwer to his laſt Meſſage.

And that they would proceed in the proſecution of the Lords in the *Tower*, beginning with *William* Viſcount *Stafford*.

On *Thurſday* the 11*th* of *November*, 1680.

A Bill to prevent the offences of *Bribery*, and *Debauchery*, in Elections of Members to Serve in the Commons Houſe of Parliament, was Read the firſt time, and ordered to be read again the *Monday* following, with the Bill for Regulating Elections of Members to Serve in the ſaid Houſe, formerly mentioned.

This day the Bill againſt the Duke of *York* was read the third time, and paſſed; The Title whereof was reſolved to be, *An Act for Securing of the Proteſtant Religion, by Diſabling* James *Duke of* York *to Inherit the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.* And it was ordered that the Lord *Ruſſel* ſhould carry it up to the Lords, for their Concurrence.

The

The Bill ſent down by the Lords for Freeing the City of *London* from Popiſh Recuſants, was read the firſt time on *Friday*, and Ordered a ſecond reading in a full Houſe. 12. *Nov.*

This day the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords, to Acquaint them with their Intentions to begin with the Viſcount *Stafford*, and to deſire them to appoint a Convenient time for the Tryal, and that the Lords in the *Tower* might be Confined and kept from holding Correſpondence with one another, as perſons impeached and committed for High Treaſon by Law ought to be.

The Lords anſwered, *As to the latter part of this Meſſage, They had taken Care already in it; and as to the former, They appointed* Tueſday *the Thirtieth day of the ſame Moneth.*

And they further reſolved to Addreſs to his Majeſty for a Sum of Money for defraying the Charges of Summoning of Witneſſes and other Expences Incident to the Proſecution and Tryals of the Lords in the *Tower*, and appointed Mr. *Charles Clare* to Receive and Expend the ſame; for which purpoſe his Majeſty gave Order that 100 l. ſhould be Iſſued out of the Exchequer.

On *Saturday* the 13*th* of *November*,

Sir *Robert Teomans* being upon his own Petition called to the Bar, he Acknowledged his offence, and was ordered to receive the Cenſure of the Houſe upon his Knees; to which he ſubmitted, and was diſcharged, paying his Fees.

The Lords returned the Bill againſt Importing of *Iriſh* Cattel agreed to Commons the ſame day.

The City of *London* having Petitioned the Houſe againſt Sir *George Jeffereys* their Recorder, and it being

ing referred to a Committee, they paſſed this Vote, *Reſolved,*

That this Committee is of Opinion, That by the Evidence given to this Committee, it does appear that Sir George Jeffereys, *Recorder of the City of* London, *by traducing and obſtructing Petitioning for the Sitting of This Parliament, hath betrayed the Rights of the Subject.*

To which the Houſe agreed, and Ordered, *That an Humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to remove him out of all Publick Offices*; and appointed a Committee to draw up the ſame. As if it had been likely his Majeſty would have ſo far complyed with them, as to have puniſhed the *Recorder* for obeying his Laws and Proclamation, againſt a Tumultuous and Seditious Sort of men.

But however his Majeſty might Act, they had another aim in this, for they Voted, *That the Members of their Houſe that Served for the City of* London, *ſhould communicate this Vote and Reſolution of their Houſe, to the Court of Aldermen for the City of* London.

This was a ſure way to beſpeak a Party in the City to Joyn with the Houſe againſt the Abhorrers.

They further *Ordered*, That this Committee ſhould enquire into all ſuch perſons as have been Adviſing, or Promoting of the late Proclamation, ſtiled, *A Proclamation againſt Tumultuous Petitioning.*

Thus having paſſed thus far without any check from any perſon, they thought they might proceed as far further as they pleaſed. And it is very probable that they were ſpurred on to this by their Friends and Enemies; the one deſigning to make them Terrible; and the other, being willing to make them Hated. However, I am ſure they they became more hated than feared by this and many other ſuch proceedings. As

As the Parliament, that is, the Commons, Courted the City, ſo the City was as kind to them, and Calling a Common Councel, Voted an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty to declare their Loyalty; and to Petition him that the *Parliament* might Sit until *Proteſtantiſme* was Secured; I believe they might mean innocently, tho I am well Secured that this would have perpetuated them to the End of the World, if ſome amongſt them might have been Judges of the time when this great work was perfected.

But this did not Edify with his Majeſty, who penetrated to the bottom of theſe little Projects, and was not over-pleaſed with this Correſpondency betwixt this and the Commons, remembring what ill effects this Conjunction had in the Reign of his Father. So he Adviſed the Common-Councel to meddle with thoſe things that lay before them, and aſſuring them, *That he would Labour to maintain the Proteſtant Religion as it was Eſtabliſhed by Law*; (which was more than they deſired,) he diſmiſſed them.

On *Munday* the 15*th* day of *November*.

A Bill againſt the Importation of Cattel from *Scotland* was Read the firſt time, and Ordered a Second Reading the *Saturday* following at Ten of the Clock.

This day was delivered the following Meſſage to the Commons.

CHARLES *R.*

HIS *Majeſty did in his Speech, at the Opening of this Seſſion of Parliament, deſire your Advice and Aſſiſtance, in relation to* Tangier:

the Condition and Importance of the Place obliges his Majesty to put this House in mind again, That He relies upon them for the Support of it, without which it cannot be much longer preserved. His Majesty doth therefore Earnestly Recommend Tangier *again to the due and speedy Consideration and Care of this House.*

A Debate thereupon arising in the House, they Voted, *That they would proceed in the Consideration of this Message the next* Wednesday *Morning at Ten of the Clock.*

A Bill sent down from the Lords, Intituled, *An Act for the better Regulating the Tryals of the Peers of* England, *was Read the Second time, and Committed upon the Debate of the House.*

This day the Bill for Disabling the Duke of *York* was Read the first time in the House of Peers; and the question being put, Whether it should be read again? the House divided.

Noes, 63.
Yeas, 30.

So it was Thrown out; the Bishops all appearing against the Bill, Except three, for which some of the Commons Reflected upon them, with great Liberty, as if no body could be for the Duke but he must be for Popery.

The House of Commons taking notice of this, were so discomposed, that they Adjourned themselves on *Tuesday* Morning, and did nothing that day.

And the day following meeting in a very bad and discontented humour, and taking into Consideration the

Message

Meſſage about *Tangier*, They Reſolved upon an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty upon the Debate of the Houſe, Humbly repreſenting to him the dangerous State and Condition of the Kingdom.

And then it appearing that *George* Earl of *Hallifax* had been very Active in the Houſe of Lords againſt the Bill for Diſ-inheriting the Duke, they Reſolved alſo upon another Addreſs to his Majeſty, to remove the Earl from his Majeſties Preſence and Councils for Ever. And this was all they did the Second day after. The Houſe being in a perfect Fret, and the Country-Party Heating themſelves by their Speeches to that height, they were ſcarce able to Conſider what was fit to be ſaid or asked.

And now that the Peers of *England* have paſſed their Judgment concerning this Bill, I will add ſome ſhort Reflections upon the Bill, which I ſhall ſhall ſubmit to my Reader, as it is fit I ſhould.

Firſt, Then, I do acknowledg it is a great affliction to any *Proteſtant* Country to fall into the Hands of a Popiſh Prince; and worſe for *England* then for moſt other, becauſe of the great and implacable Malice the Jeſuits and the whole Church of *Rome* have ever born to the Religion Eſtabliſhed amongſt us, which is more eaſily defended againſt them, then any other Reformed Church, as being founded upon greater Antiquity, and more conformable to the Primitive Church of the Three or Four firſt *Centuries*, then either the Church of *Rome*, or any of the Reformed Churches in theſe *Weſtern* Parts of the World: and therefore they of the Church of *Rome* Have left no ſtone unturned, to Subvert her, imploying all their own Wit and Power againſt her ever ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* began; and ſticking neither at Perjury, Treaſon, Murther, nor any other Villa-

ny that they thought might conduce to that End: and when God had by his Gracious Providence defeated all theſe their Damnable Projects, They Transformed themſelves into the ſhapes of our own Proteſtant Diſſenters, and ſo promoted a Rebellion which ended in the ſeeming Ruine of this Religion and Government, to their mighty Content and Satisfaction; but tho his Majeſty at his Return re-ſettled this Church, yet they did not give over, but by a Toleration by ſpreading Pamphlets written in the Stile of the Diſſenters, and ſo very acceptable to them, by diſcouraging all that oppoſed our Inteſtine Diviſions, and a multitude of ſuch other frauds, they have in Twenty Years time ſo ſhaken her foundations again, that his Majeſty can hardly now preſerve and uphold her againſt the Popiſh Party on the one hand, and the Diſſenters on the other.

So that if this poor perſecuted Church ſhould fall into the hands of a Prince of their Communion, She is to Expect whatever the moſt Enraged Malice armed with his Authority, can inflict upon her, and She hath all the reaſon in the world to expect the Diſſenters will joyn with them to afflict and ruine her. Not out of any Kindneſs to Popery, but out of an implacable hatred they two have Conceived againſt her. So that I muſt and will Conclude the Church of *England* hath the greateſt reaſon in the world to dread that day that ſhall put her into ſuch hands.

But yet ſtill with this limitation notwithſtanding, that by Avoiding one Miſchief, ſhe ſhould not plunge her Self into a greater; that is, by flying a Perſecution from men, to fall into a Rebellion againſt her God and Saviour, by whoſe Providence Kings and Princes (of what Religion ſoever they be) rule; and by whom they have in all Ages been ſo Ordered, Diſpoſed and Govern-

ed,

ed, as He in his Divine and Holy Wiſdom Saw moſt Expedient for the Proſperity or Chaſtiſement of his Church, to the greater encreaſe of her Glory and Happineſs in the world to come.

Two things I will lay down as Undoubted Rules or Maximes.

1. That the Kingdom of *England* is an Hereditary Kingdom or Monarchy, which for many Ages hath gone to the Next Heirs, be they Males or Females, of the Blood Royal; without any Election or Conſent of the People, otherwiſe then by acknowledging their Lawful Right derived from God, by their Blood to them.

The Second is, That this Hereditary Monarchy was ſet up at firſt, and hath been ſince upheld and maintained by the Providence of God.

From which two I will infer this Concluſion, That who ever ſhall attempt to alter this Right of Succeſſion without a manifeſt revelation, (which is not now to be expected) is a Notorious Uſurper upon the Right of the Perſon who is to Succeed, be the pretence for it what it will; and a Rebel againſt that Providence which gave him that Right.

Nor will all the Antient Rebellions, Uſurpations and Diſorders, which have hapned in this Kingdom, Juſtify them that ſhall begin them again.

Now if it ſhould pleaſe God ſo to order it, that the Duke ſhould at his Majeſties Death be the Next Heir to his Crown; I cannot ſee how any humane Power ſhall prevent his Succeſſion to it, but by encroaching upon his Right, and by rebelling againſt the Divine Providence that gave it to him.

So that be the Inconveniences that ſhall follow upon ſuch a Succeſſion what they will or can be, we muſt ſubmit to them upon pain of Rebellion againſt both God and his Anointed our Lawful Prince. And then let any man be judge whether it is better to fall into the Hands of a Popiſh Prince, or into the Hands of an Angry God, who is a Conſuming fire; and who is not bound by any Act of Parliament from afflicting a Sinful and Rebellious People.

So tho the Church of *England* hath all the reaſon in the world to dread ſuch a Prince, yet ſhe will have greater reaſon to dread a Rebellion againſt him, becauſe it runs her upon the Divine Vengeance, and is directly contrary to her Principles, and the Practiſe of the Apoſtles and Primitive Church, and is plain down-right Popery. So that I conclude Neither She nor any of her Children, will be guilty of it, come what will come.

The Oath of Supremacy.

But this is not all, we are already Sworn to *Bear Faith* and true Allegiance to the Kings Highneſs, His Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors, and that to our power we ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdiction, Priviledges, Pre-Eminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highneſs, his Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors, or United and Annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; of which that of an hereditary Succeſſion is one of the principal; and we are Sworn not onely to his Majeſty, (whom God Long Continue) but alſo to his Lawful Succeſſors: with which Oath none but they that have that Right can diſpence; for this being a promiſſory Oath made to them as well as him, when their Rights ſhall fall, his Majeſty cannot remit their Right, nor any of them anothers; but they have Every of them in their reſpective degrees and orders an indiſpenſable Right confirmed to them by this Oath. Nor would they

they ceaſe to be Lawful Succeſſors in the Sence of this Oath, tho a Law were made to prevent, bar, or cut off their Succeſſion; becauſe all that is meant by the word *Lawful*, in this place, is to be underſtood by the common Rules of Succeſſion Settled by the Common Law of *England*; *viz.* the Eldeſt Son or Daughter before a Younger of the ſame Sex, *&c.* Now if his Majeſty cannot do it, much leſs can the Lords or Commons do it, becauſe they are all within the obligation of this Oath, and it is unreaſonable that men ſhould diſpence with their own promiſſory Oathes to others; for this would deſtroy all Faith and Confidence amongſt men, and pull up the very Roots of all Society and Government. Nor can any man imagine that this Oath was made in favour of a Proteſtant Succeſſor only, *H.* 8. being a Popiſh Prince, in whoſe time it was Settled at firſt. And the ſame in effect is Sworn by the Oath of Allegiance with this binding Clauſe, *I do believe, and in my Conſcience am reſolved, that neither the Pope, nor any other Perſon whatſoever, hath power to abſolve me of this Oath or any part thereof, which I Acknowledge by good and full Authority to be lawfully Miniſtred unto me.* And by this Oath we are alſo bound to bear Faith and true Allegiance (not onely) to his Majeſty, (but to) his Heirs and Succeſſors, and Him and *Them* to *Defend* to the Utmoſt of our power, *&c.* Which is to be underſtood according to their ſeveral and reſpective Rights, and at ſuch times as they ſhall grow and accrew to them and every of them. And altho this Oath was Introduced by a Proteſtant Prince, yet is not made to him as a Proteſtant, but as Lawful and Rightful King of this Realm; and who ever is So, hath and muſt have Right to impoſe it upon us, be his Religion what it will. So that beſides the former Sin of Rebellion againſt the Providence

dence of God, Here is an Apparent and Unavoidable Perjury in this Case to Aggravate the other. And surely no good Religious man will run upon these two Hideous Sins deliberately, to avoid any temporal affliction whatsoever.

So that were the Case just such as it is represented by the Author of the *Character of a Popish Successor*, It would not Justify the Excluding of such a Successor as he hath described, by Force and Arms, against his Right and our Oathes to the Contrary, tho we were never so certain to Succeed in the Attempt. But then that wicked man has most falsly represented things to us, and So as it is impossible they should ever prove in the Event, if we do not give occasion for it by an improsperous Rebellion; nay I believe I may say if we should.

First it is agreed by All the World, That there are Ten Protestants for one Papist thro all the Dominions of *England*; So that if such a Successor should attempt to Extirpate them; the bare refusing to aid or assist him in such an enterprize, would render it impossible.

Secondly, All our Laws are in favour of that Religion that is Established, which could never be Repealed but in Parliament; and it is morally impossible to have a Parliament the major part of which will not be Protestants, who will never Consent to ruine themselves.

Thirdly, The Revenue of such a Prince will not bear the Charge of so great an Army as will be necessary to reduce the People to a Religion so generally detested and hated as this is.

In answer to this, there is Two things pretended. First, That he may have Foraign Ayds; And Secondly, That

That he will have means to deter or allure many from the Proteſtant Religion to his own.

As to Foraign aſſiſtances, no Prince will dare to admit ſo many as ſhall totally over-power his own People, becauſe then they will be able to ruine him, as the *Saxons* did the *Brittains*; and he may be ſure they will do it. So that this is a ridiculous Suppoſition in a Prince of our own Nation that hath No other Dominions but theſe.

As to any Number of People that he may be able to bring over to his Religion, they will be very inconſiderable in proportion to thoſe that will never be brought over, tho we ſuppoſe the Number greater then it is like to be; for that ſome men have got a way of Reproaching all they hate with the Name of *Papiſts*, becauſe there is none more hated than that; yet even for that caſe the Number muſt be ſmall, being very unwilling to Liſt themſelves in a hated Party, Except they may have great Advantages by it; which are not to be afforded to many (in proportion to the reſt) in one Kings Reign, in ſo ſmall a Kingdom as *England*.

Thirdly, The very attempting this with Force and Violence, will drive ſo many people out of the Nation, that the Prince will deſtroy both his Revenue, and Security; which we may believe no man will do for his own ſake.

To this we may add, That it is three to one whether we have any ſuch Prince. Who but God can tell whether ever the Duke ſhall Survive his Majeſty. Whether, if he do, he ſhall be the Next Heir; and whether, if he be So, his Intereſt, the Grace of God, or meer humane

Inconſtancy, may not work upon him to return to that Religion he was firſt principl'd in, and for which his Royal Father moſt Gloriouſly Laid down his Life.

And after all this, Suppoſing he ſhould Succeed and be Zealous for his *Religion*, and Suppoſe that to be Popery; there is no neceſſity that he muſt Act all the worſt Principles of Popery to the Utmoſt degree. I am ſure it is not uſual ſo to do, tho the difficulty be not ſo great as here it will be.

And after all, doth not the Providence of God govern the Popiſh as well as Proteſtant Princes? Is the Arm of the Almighty ſhortned that he can neither Deliver nor Support his Church? or hath he forſaken her in her Old Age, who preſerved her with So much Care and Power in her Infancy under Heathen Princes for above Three hundred Years? and under *Arrian* Princes (which were as bad as the worſt Papiſts) a long time after that. Do we believe this Proteſtant Religion is acceptable to him? Are the far greateſt part of them that profeſs it, Sincere or Falſe in their pretences? If all theſe be anſwered one way, we have Something to rely upon that is more Steady, than the Faith and Religion of Princes. If in the other, it will be but a folly to pretend to Secure by humane Arts, that which God is reſolved to deſtroy.

But the reaſon upon which the Bill of Excluſion is built, is worſe than the thing. Firſt they Vote, *That the Dukes being a Papiſt, and the Hopes of his Coming ſuch to the Crown, hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion.*

They Vote the Duke a Papiſt, which is more than any man living can tell but himſelf; and if it ſhould be granted that he is So, what then? Then this hath given the greateſt Countenance and Encouragement to the preſent

preſent Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt the King and Proteſtant Religion; and then the Concluſion is, That therefore he muſt be diſ-inherited. To me it ſeems better Logick to ſay, Then all poſſible Care and Art is to be imployed to reduce him back to our Church; whereas this way of proceeding with him can end in nothing but the enraging and exaſperating of him againſt the Proteſtant Religion.

But then the Duke's being a Papiſt hath not given the greateſt, nor, if we may believe Mr. *Oates*, hardly any Encouragement to the *Plot*: for he tells us, that when he urged, *That he feared the Death of the King would ſcarely do the buſineſs and effect the Deſign, unleſs his R. H. would pardon thoſe that did the buſineſs, and ſtand by them in it. Keines* replyed, *That the Duke was not the Strength of their Truſt; for they had another way to effect the ſetting up the C. R. &c. And if* James *did not Comply with them, to pot he muſt go alſo.* And Article 29. *If the Duke ſhall ſet his face in the leaſt meaſure to follow his Brothers foot-ſteps, his Paſsport was made to Lay him aſleep.* And Article 24. They the Jeſuits aver, *That altho the Duke was a good Catholique, yet he had a tender affection for the King, and would ſcarcely be engaged in that Concern; and if they ſhould once intimate their Deſigns and Purpoſes unto him, they might not onely be fruſtrated of their Deſign, but alſo might loſe his Favour.* Art. 16. He ſaith he putting this queſtion, *What if the Duke ſhould prove Slippery?* They replyed, *His Paſsport was ready when ever he ſhould Appear to fail them.* And page the 64. He tells us, *He* (the Pope) *hath ordered, That in caſe the D. of* York *will not accept theſe Crowns as forfeited by his Brother unto the Pope, as of his Gift, and ſettle ſuch Prelates and Dignities in the Church, and ſuch Officers in Commands and Places Civil, Naval, and* *Article* 60.

Military, as he hath Commiſſioned, Extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, and in order thereunto Ex poſt facto, *Conſent the Aſſaſſination of the King his Brother, Maſſacre of his Proteſtant Subjects, Firing of his Towns,&c. by Pardoning of the Aſſaſsins, Murtherers and Incendiaries,that then he alſo be Poyſoned or deſtroyed, after they have for ſome time abuſed his Name and Title to Strengthen their Plot,&c.* All which Paſſages in his and other of the Narratives ſhew plainly the D. being a Papiſt was not the greater, nay it was hardly any encouragement to the *Plot*: and tho ſome of them have gone farther than Mr. *Oates*, yet that ſhews the Jeſuits had different opinions of His R. Highneſs; and therefore had no aſſurance: but if the *Plot* upon the Life of the King had ſucceeded, he might have revenged it upon them tho he were of their Religion as they believed.

But becauſe theſe things may be diſputed both ways, Suppoſe I ſhould grant the Hopes of his Coming a Papiſt to the Crown, did really give the greateſt Encouragement to the *Plot*; will diſ-inheriting him defeat thoſe hopes? No, but it will rather whet them on to do their utmoſt to Murther the King to prevent or revenge that injury to the Duke: and of this the Houſe was ſo ſenſible, that the ſame day they paſſed this *Vote*, they *Added* to it this that followes.

Reſolved N. C.

That in Defence of the Kings Perſon and Government, and of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That they will Stand by His Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhall come by any Violent Death, (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the Utmoſt upon the Papiſts.

This

This latter Vote they have annexed to the former every time they have paſſed it, which ſhews they are ſenſible Revenge and Deſpair are full as likely to puſh them on, as Hope, to this Horrid attempt: and in that caſe this *Vote* will never hinder them, but it may encourage the *Scotch* Aſſaſſins to do it if they can; Knowing the Papiſts are to Suffer, who ever doth the fact.

So that to me it ſeems the Reaſons upon which the Bill is founded, are weak and unconcluding, and that no Malice could have Contrived a more effectual way to haſten thoſe Calamities upon us it pretends to prevent, and to aſcertain what is full as likely never to happen without it.

So I conclude the Lords did well and wiſely in rejecting the Bill, and the Biſhops in joyning with them ſo to do.

And now I will proceed with the reſt of the *Votes*, having made this ſhort Digreſſion to Expreſs my thoughts on this great affair, which I ſubmit to the Judgment of wiſer men; and ſhall willingly retract or amend any thing if I have erred; for I ſeek nothing by all this but the Peace and Proſperity of my Country.

There being little done of importance on *Thurſday* the 18*th* day of *November*, the next day the Commons fell upon the buſineſs of the Abhorrers of the Petitions; and began with the Grand-Juries for the Counties of *Somerſet* and *Devon*, which had both deteſted and abhorred the ſaid Tumultuous Petition. So they Ordered, That Sir *Giles Philips* and *William Coleman*, being the Fore-men of the ſaid *Grand-Juries*, ſhould be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms attending their Houſe, to anſwer at the Bar of their Houſe, for Breach of Priviledge by them committed againſt their *Houſe*.

Before

Before in Sir *George Jeffereys* Caſe, it was for betraying the *Rights of the Subject*, and Now 'tis become a *Priviledge of Parliament* for the People to Petition by Hundreds and Thouſands for the Sitting of a Parliament. At this rate of Proceeding, there will be Priviledges of Parliament enough at laſt.

At the ſame time they ordered Captain *William Caſtle* and Mr. *John Hutchinſon*, and Mr. *Henry Walrond*, the two laſt being of the ſaid *Grand-Juries*, to be Sent for in Cuſtody too. So this was a pretty handſom beginning.

But the next day they found that Mr. *William Stawell* was Fore-man for the Grand-Jury for *Devon*, and not Mr. *Coleman*, ſo they ordered his Name to be put out of the Warrant, and Mr. *Stawell's* to be put in. This ſhews with what heat and haſte they managed this affair.

But why ſhould the Fore-men of the Grand-Juries be ſent for, rather than all or any of the reſt; the Foreman having no more Authority than the Laſt man, nor being any way inabled by his place to Help or Hinder any thing, but being Concluded by the Major part, be his own Opinion what it will? but they could not tell who promoted this affair, and therefore Right or Wrong, Singled them out to be made Examples. not thinking it convenient to ſend for the whole Number, who yet, were puniſhed in theſe; and not only they that ſuffered, but every Gentleman in the Nation ſuffer'd in them; their Liberties being at the Mercy of every Corporation, who when they pleaſe may ſend Taylors, Grocers, *&c.* to enjoy theſe exorbitant priviledges, and Send for the beſt Knights and Gentlemen in *England*, for not, having payd reſpects great enough to them.

The Bill of Importation of Cattel from *Scotland* was read the ſecond time, and Committed.

Then they proceeded in the buſineſs of the *Abhorrers*, and Voted, That one *Thomas Herbert* Eſq; ſhould be ſent for in Cuſtody, for proſecuting *John Arnold* Eſq; at the Council Table, for promoting the ſaid Petition, and procuring Subſcriptions.

To him they added Sir *Thomas Holt*, Serjeant at Law, and Mr. *Thomas Staples*, as Betrayers of the Liberties of the Subject.

The ſame day one *Eld* was diſcharged out of Cuſtody; who had been taken for not Making a good Search for Arms at the Lord *Aſton*'s Houſe at *Taxall* in *Staffordſhire*. Notice being taken that he was a **Sober Proteſtant**, (what that means I muſt leave to my Reader; for I never heard that any ſort of *Proteſtants* made Drunkenneſs, or Debauchery, or any other ſort of Inſobriety a part of *Proteſtantiſme*, and I ſhould have liked it better if it had been a **Confiding Man**,) and an Enemy to the Popiſh Faction: It were worth the while to enquire how he ſtood affected to the *Puritan Faction*.

On *Munday* the 22 of *November*,

Two Bills for Regulating Elections were read the ſecond time, and Committed to a Committee to unite or divide them as they ſhould ſee cauſe.

The day following Sir *Thomas Holt* petitioning the Houſe, was called in and Cenſured upon his Knees, and Diſcharged.

The ſame day a further *Addreſs* was *Voted*, to Petition his Majeſty to remit a Fine of 500 l. that had been ſet upon Mr. *Benjamin Harris*, for Printing *Seditious Libels*. Such men were not to be diſcouraged, in an Age when ſo few were to be found, who would undertake

dertake that dangerous Imployment for the good of the Nation.

The ſame day a Bill was brought in for Repeal of an *ACT* made in the 35 of *Eliz. Cap.* 1. Againſt Seditious and Diſloyal *Sectaries* and *Conventicles*; this Bill paſſed both Houſes, but was taken away, before it was Signed by the King. So that *Statute* Eſcaped then; to the terror of thoſe *Proteſtants*.

There having been a deſign to Indict the Duke of *York* for a Popiſh Recuſant in *Trinity* Term this Year, and the ſame being prevented by the Court of *Kings-Benches* diſcharging the Grand-Jury before they had found the ſame, the Houſe made this *Vote*,

That the diſcharging of a Grand-Jury by any Judge before the end of the Term, Aſsizes or Seſsions, whileſt Matters are under their Conſideration, and Not preſented, is Arbitrary, Illegal and Deſtructive to publick Juſtice, a manifeſt Violation of his Oath, (what Oath) *and is a Means to Subvert the* Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

Reſolved, That a Committee be appointed to Examine the Proceedings of the Judges in Weſtminſter-Hall, &c.

On *Wedneſday, November* 24.

After Orders for the ſending for *George Bell* an Attorney at Law, *Arthur Teomans*, *William Jordan*, *John Laws*, and *Henry Aulnett*, for Breach of Priviledge of Parliament, without aſsigning wherein; Order was given to bring in a Bill,

1. To Supply the Laws againſt *Bankrupey*.

2. And another to take away the Court held before the Lord Preſident and Council in the *Marches* of *Wales*.

Then the Bill for Repeal of the 35 *Eliz. Cap.* 1. was read the Second time, and Ordered to be ingroſſed.

Ordered,

Ordered, That an humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty from this Houſe, by ſuch Members thereof as are of His Majeſties Moſt Honourable Privy Council, to deſire his Majeſty to give Orders, That all **Proteſtant Diſſenters,** *who are proſecuted upon any Penal Laws made againſt Popiſh Recuſants, in the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James, *may be Admitted to a Compoſition in the* Exchequer, *without paying any Fees.*

Which was granted by his Majeſty.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill declaring that thoſe Laws ſhall not be Extended to P. Diſſenters; and that it be referred to the Committee appointed to bring in the Bill for the better Uniting of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects.

The Attorney-General being ordered formerly to attend, and This day Called in and Examined touching the Manner of Iſſuing forth of the *P.* ſtiled, **A Proclamation againſt Tumultuous Petitions,** and Giving an Account to the Houſe, That Sir *Fra. North* Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, was Adviſing and Aſſiſting in the drawing up and paſsing of the ſaid Proclamation; and a Debate thereupon ariſing in the Houſe, they *Reſolved N. C. That it was ſufficient Ground for the Houſe to proceed upon an Impeachment againſt him for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*; and order taken for an Impeachment accordingly.

Thus the Diſſenters are encouraged to go on and break the Laws, and the Judges puniſhed for Executing them.

On *Thurſday* the 25 of *November*, Nothing Extraordinary was done, but the Exhibiting Articles againſt *Edward Seymour* Eſquire, formerly *Speaker* of the Houſe; to Each of which he being required to make a diſtinct

anſwer, there ariſing a Debate upon the firſt Article, the whole was adjourned to the next day.

Samuel Verdon Under-Sheriff of *Norfolk*, was ordered to be ſent for into Cuſtody, upon a Complaint of ſeveral Crimes and Miſdemeanors by him committed: For a Notorious Breach of Priviledge of Parliament by him committed againſt their Houſe; No ſuch thing being mentioned in the Complaint.

Friday, Novemb. 26. The Bill of Repeal of the 35 of *Eliz.* was read the third time, and paſſed.

And the Houſe reſolved to Impeach Mr. *Seymour* upon 4 Articles, and appointed a Committee to draw up thoſe Articles accordingly, and Referred it to them to conſider of Precedents concerning the Committing of Members to Cuſtody when Impeached in Parliament.

On *Munday* the 29 day of *November*, the Houſe attended his Majeſty with their *Addreſs* concerning *Tangier*; which being very long, I will not trouble the Reader with it at Large.

The whole is a Tragical repreſentation of the Advantages that Popery had gotten over the Religion and Government, *Aſsiſted* (as they tell us) *by the Treachery of perfidious Proteſtants*, which muſt be the Diſſenters, by whoſe aſsiſtance they obtained the Toleration, broke ſeveral Seſsions of the Long Loyal Parliament, if *Coleman's* Letter to Monſieur *Le Cheſe* may be Credited; and it may truly be averred, that the Papiſts have not obtained any Advantage without the Diſſenters, nor the Diſſenters without them.

They ſay further, *That the ACT of Parliament enjoyning a* Teſt *to be taken by all perſons admitted into any Publick Office, and intended for a Security againſt Papiſts coming*

coming into Imployment, had So little effect, that either by diſpenſations, obtained from Rome, *they Submitted to thoſe* Teſts, *and held their Offices themſelves. or thoſe put into thoſe Places, wore ſo favourable to the ſame Intereſt, that Popery it ſelf has rather gained than loſt ground ſince that ACT.*

Now Suppoſing it true, that ſome of them did obtain ſuch diſpenſations, what was this to his Majeſty; and if any of them that gat their Offices were apt to afford them unlawful favours, they might have called them to account for it, with much more general Satisfaction than they did the *Abhorrers*: but let any man that Knowes any thing of the World, Judge whether the Malice or falſehood of the Concluſion be greateſt.

They tell the King a dreadful Story of the deſeating of the Preſentment intended againſt his Majeſties Brother the Duke of *York*, under whoſe Countenance all the reſt (of the Papiſts) ſhelter themſelves, as they ſay. But ſurely his Majeſty was not to be informed what they thought of this, who could not but be well informed of the Fact long ſince; and ſo they deſcend to the buſineſs of the *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, which Expoſes *Popery* (*as it deſerves*, ſay they) as Ridiculous to the People; and they tell his Majeſty, *That a New and Arbitrary Rule of Court was made in his Majeſties Court of* Kings-Bench, *That the ſame for the future ſhould not be Printed by any perſon whatſoever.* But then they take no Notice how that Author has made many Odious, Falſe, and Scandalous, Reflections upon the Religion and Government by Law Eſtabliſhed; which was the cauſe why it was Suppreſt, and not any talent he had of writing againſt *Popery*.

Finally, They tell the King that they have freed themſelves from the guilt of that blood and deſolation

which is like to enſue: which is an Expreſsion in that place that looks like a kind of Threat or Menace; for there was then No proſpect of blood or deſolation that could ariſe from any cauſe or perſons but what muſt be Countenanced by the Diſſenters.

The Concluſion is; *But our Onely hope, next under God, is in Your Sacred Majeſty, that by your Great Wiſdome and Goodneſs we may be effectually Secured from Popery, and all the Evils that attend it, and that none but perſons of Known Fidelity to Your Majeſty, and Sincere Affection to The Proteſtant Religion, may be put into any Imployment Civil or Military. That whilſt we ſhall give a Supply to* Tangier, *we may be aſſured we do not Augment the Strength of our Popiſh Adverſaries, nor encreaſe our own Dangers; which Deſires of your Faithful Commons if Your Majeſty ſhall Graciouſly vouchſafe to grant, we ſhall not onely be ready to aſſiſt Your Majeſty in defence of* Tangier, *but do whatſoever elſe ſhall be in our power to enable Your Majeſty to Protect the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt at home and abroad, and to reſiſt and repel the Attempts of Your Majeſties and the Kingdoms Enemies.*

What Religion?

But His Majeſty notwithſtanding continued without any Supply, and by the Bleſſing of God preſerved the Town. Now it is very obſervable, that in the former Parliament there being a Report, *That* Tangier *ſhould be Sold to relieve the Neceſsities of the Crown,* they then Voted, *That the Houſe was of Opinion, That thoſe who ſhould Adviſe His Majeſty to part with* Tangier *to any Foraign Prince or State, or be Inſtrumental therein, ought to be accounted Enemies to the King and Kingdom*: And yet now that it was in apparent hazard to be loſt to the *Moors*, the Sworn Enemies of all Chriſtians, they would grant nothing to preſerve it; and many of the *Commons* in their Speeches were of Opinion, that it was the beſt

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way

way to desert the Town. So that if any did Advise his Majesty to Sell the Place, they were Enemies to the King and Kingdom; but if it were lost or deserted, So the King had nothing for it, the Matter was not much, so that the King might bear the blame, tho the Commons were in the fault.

On *TUESDAY* the 30*th* of *November*, the Tryal of *William* Viscount *Stafford* was began, which lasted till the 7*th* of *December*, of which I shall take no Notice, it being printed by it Self. During all which time there was nothing material done by the House of Commons except that business.

Wednesday the 8*th*, and *Thursday* the Ninth of *December*, were spent in Reporting of Elections, and discharging persons out of the Custody of the Serjeant, and Ordering others to be taken in to Supply their places.

But very remarkable was their *Severity* against Mr. *Sheridon* and Mr. *Day*, who were Ordered to be taken into Custody, their Papers to be Searched, and that No person should be Admitted to come to them, but such as should have occasion to bring them Necessaries.

On *Friday* the 10*th* of *December*, Captain *Castle* was found, and Voted guilty of offending against the Rights of the Subject, by Obstructing Petitioning to His Majesty for the *Sitting of that Parliament*.

The same day the Commons Ordered an Impeachment to be prepared against Sir *Francis North* Chief Justice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, *viz.* for Advising the Proclamation against *Tumultuous Petitions*.

Then they Voted, That the Imprisonment of one *Peter Norris* at *Dover* by the Order of Sir *Leoline Jenkins*

kins, was *Illegal and Arbitrary, and an Obſtruction to the Evidence, for the Diſcovery of the Horrid Popiſh Plott.* This was the buſineſs for which *Sheridon* and *Day* were impriſoned.

On *Munday* the 13*th*, A Bill for Exportation of Cloth and other Woollen Manufactures into *Turkey*, being read the ſecond time, and a *Debate* ariſing thereupon, it was Ordered that it ſhould lie upon the Clerks Table.

They *Ordered* alſo, That *the Committee appointed to look into and prepare Evidence againſt the Lords in the* Tower, *do Examine the Evidence againſt all perſons concerned in the Popiſh Plot.* And they were to report the Names of ſuch perſons, together with their Opinions therein, to the Houſe upon the *Debate.*

And alſo that Leave ſhould be given to bring in a Bill, for Baniſhing of all Papiſts, and ſuſpected Papiſts from the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and XX miles of the ſame, with Clauſes therein for diſarming of all Papiſts, and for Pains and Penalties againſt all ſuch *Papiſts*, or ſuſpected *Papiſts*, as ſhould *Ride, Go, or be Armed.* And that Liſts of them ſhould be brought in by the Members.

When ever any Law paſs againſt *ſuſpected Papiſts*, great care ought to be taken to limit that Looſe term, or great Miſchiefs will inſue.

On *Tueſday* the 14*th* of *December*, Complaint was made, That one *Herbert Herring* who had been ordered to be taken into Cuſtody for a Breach of *Priviledge*, did abſcond himſelf to avoid the Execution of the ſaid Order: whereupon it was

Reſolved, That if he did not render himſelf by Saturday, *that Houſe would proceed againſt him by Bill in Parliament, for endeavouring by his abſconding to Avoid the Juſtice of the Houſe.*

This

This was a way never to want Work, if every Fugitive Attorney or Porter that had broke the Priviledge of the Houſe, was to be brought in by Bill.

Sir *Robert Peyton*, a Member of their Houſe, was the Next that fell under their diſpleaſure, being ſaid to *Have had Secret Negotiation with the Duke of* Y. *by the Means of the Earl of* Peterborough, *Mrs.* Cellier, *and Mr.* Gadbury, *at ſuch time as they were turning the Popiſh Plot upon the Proteſtants, i. e.* the **Presbyterians**, it ſeems they are **The Protestants.** For which he was Ordered (after his defence) to be Expelled the Houſe, and to be brought to the Bar to receive the Cenſure of the Houſe upon his Knees from the *Speaker*.

Which was done with ſo little reſpect to the Quality of the perſon; that after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, he ſent the Speaker a Challenge, for which he was Committed, having been before committed to the *Serjeant*, for not being at hand when it ſhould have been firſt done, by the Speaker. So he was twice Committed and Expell'd too, but by what Law, the Houſe of Commons *proceeded, I know not.*

It is the Intereſt both of the Members and of Us whom they repreſent, to take care that this be not left to them; for here was a Member Expelled not for being a party to that Conſpiracy of the Papiſts, but for having *Secret Negotiations* with the *Duke of York* at that time: and if this be allowed, that they may Expel for what cauſe they pleaſe, be there Law, or be there none, then have the greater part of the Houſe an Abſolute and Arbitrary power over the leſſer part; and if either Side do by accident get the Advantage of the other by a Single *Vote*, they may Expel them as they pleaſe: which muſt Neceſſarily end in Confuſion and Slavery.

On

On *Wedneſday* the 15*th* of *December*, the Houſe reſolved into a *Committee* of the whole Houſe, to Conſider of Ways and Means to Secure this Kingdom againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power; and Reſolved upon two Votes, *viz.*

Reſolved, Nemine Contradicente, That this Houſe doth agree with the Committee, That one Means for the Suppreſſing Popery is, That a Bill be brought in to baniſh, immediately, all the Conſiderable Papiſts of England *out of the Kings Dominions.*

Reſolved N. C. That this Houſe doth agree with the Committee, That a Bill be brought in for an Aſſociation *of all his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, for the Safety of his Majeſties Perſon *, the Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Preſervation of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, againſt all Invaſions and Oppoſitions whatſoever, and for preventing the Duke of* York *or any Papiſt from Succeeding to the Crown.*

* Note, here is no mention of his Majeſties Government in this *Aſſociation.*

And ordered a *Committee* to be appointed to prepare and bring in a Bill purſuant to the firſt of the ſaid Reſolves.

The latter was taken up to Supply the Bill of Excluſion which bad been thrown out by the Lords, and was never proſecuted any further; for when they came to draw the Bill, it was found impracticable, without involving us preſently in a Civil War.

For an *Aſſociation* ſignifies nothing without a Head to govern and direct it; if the King be made the Head, then we are where we were, and it is to no purpoſe; If another perſon be made So, then there is two diſtinct Governments in the ſame Kingdom, which can never ſtand together a Month without imbroyling themſelves and the People. This the *Holy League of France* proved Experimentally true; and the ſame Event will always follow.

Beſides,

Beſides, there was no reaſon to Expect that either his Majeſty or the Houſe of Lords would yield to this way of Excluſion, which was worſe than the former; Tho if that had paſſed, it would have ſignified nothing without an Aſſociation or a Standing Army, as the Author of the *Seaſonable Addreſs to both Houſes of Parliament* hath well proved.

This day alſo His Majeſty made a Speech to both the Houſes, which I will inſert when I come to the Anſwer of the Commons to it.

On *Thurſday* the *16th* of *December*, A Petition of Divers Inhabitants in the County of *Surry*, Complaining of the proceedings in an Eccleſiaſtical Court againſt them, being read, it was referred to a Committee to bring in a Bill or Bills for Regulating the proceedings of ſuch Courts.

A Petition of *Joſhua Brook* and other Merchants againſt the *African* Company was alſo read, and referred to a Committee.

Mr. *Booth* reporting from the Committee to whom the Bill for the better Regulating the Tryals of the Peers of *England* was committed, *An Amendment to be made, and a Clauſe to be Added*, and thereupon a Motion being made to bring in a Clauſe for *Repeal* of the Laws *de Scandalis Magnatum*, It was Ordered, That a Committee ſhould be appointed immediately to withdraw and prepare ſuch a Clauſe; Which was done, and paſſed the ſame day.

If the *Peers* had paſſed this Clauſe, they had reduced themſelves into the Condition of the Gentry and Commoners, and a man might have called the greateſt Lord in *England*, Knave, more Safely perhaps than his Taylor; but if they did not, then that Excellent Bill was to

be loſt to which they had tacked this Clauſe; which was quite of another Nature.

And it ought to be Conſidered alſo, That the Lords were Soon Voted down by the Commons once before, when by Separating themſelves from the Crown, they had loſt their Support; and they may be ſure the ſame thing will follow again, when ever the Commons ſhall prevail ſo far upon them, as to bring the Peerage into as Low a Condition as the Gentry, their Priviledges being, to ſpeak the truth, too little already to ſupport and maintain their Dignity and Honour: but of this I need ſay no more.

The Bill for Uniting his Majeſties *Proteſtant* Subjects to the Church of *England*, was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read again the *Munday* following after Ten of the Clock in a full Houſe.

Another Bill for Exempting his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of *England*, from the penalties of the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants, was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read at the ſame time with the former again.

Friday Decemb. 17th.

Captain *Caſtle* petitioning to be diſcharged, was Cenſured on his Knees at the Bar of the Houſe; and diſmiſſed, paying his Fees.

A Petition of one *Richard Haines*, deſiring Leave that a Bill ſhould be brought in for reſtraining Vagrants, and promoting the Woollen Manufactures, was read, and committed to a Committee to prepare the ſaid Bill.

Leave alſo was given to bring in a Bill for the more eaſy Collecting of the Hearth-Money.

The Additional *ACT* for Burying in Woollen was read and paſſed, and ſent up by Sir *George Downing* to the Lords for their Concurrence.

A

A Bill for Continuance of two *Acts*, The one Entituled, *An Act for preventing the planting of Tobacco in* England, *and Regulating the Plantation Trade.* The Other, *An Act for Exporting Beer, Ale and Mum,* was read a ſecond time and committed.

Then the Houſe agreed the Articles of Impeachment againſt *Edward Seymour* Eſq; a Member of their Houſe, and Ordered him to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant, till he ſhould give Sufficient Security to their Houſe to anſwer the ſaid Impeachment: and the Serjeant at Arms was *Ordered* to take the ſaid Security.

The Bill for reſtraining *Papiſts* from coming or reſiding within the Cities of *London* or *Weſtminſter*, *&c.* was read the ſecond time, and committed.

Then the Houſe reſolved into a Committee of the whole Houſe, and paſſed theſe three Reſolves.

1. *That a Bill be brought in for the more effectual Securing of the Meeting and Sitting of Frequent Parliaments, as one means to prevent Arbitrary Power.*

2. *That a Bill be brought in that the Judges hereafter to be made and Appointed, may hold their Places and Salaries* quam diu ſe bene geſſerint; *and alſo to prevent the* Arbitrary Proceedings *of the Judges.*

3. *That a Bill be brought in againſt Illegal Exaction of Money upon the People, and to make it High Treaſon.*

And a Committee was appointed to bring in a Bill or Bills purſuant to the ſaid Reſolves.

It may appear from hence, great care was taken to put the Monarchy out of a poſſibility of Arbitrary Power; but what then; is it impoſsible that there ſhould be any Such Thing as Arbitrary power Exerciſed by any but a Monarch? Is not a *Common-Wealth* or a *Houſe of Commons* as capable of Arbitrary power, as a King? Were the Proceedings of the Long Rebel-Parliament

ment Arbitrary or No? Were not Some of the Actions of this very Houſe of Commons Arbitrary? I dare Say thoſe that ſuffered by them thought them ſo, and the reſt will be of the ſame mind if ever it comes to be their Turns to be ſo treated, which they are not ſure but at one time or other may happen. At leaſt I am ſure the pulling down the Monarchy did *Once before* bring in Arbitrary power with a *Vengeance*; and thoſe that had clamoured againſt it (as they do now) when there was no cauſe for it, durſt not mutter a Sillable when there was: and if they did really believe there were any danger of it Now, we ſhould hear much leſs than we do of it.

On *Saturday* the 18*th* of *December*.

The Bill for taking away the Court holden before the Preſident and Council in the Marches of *Wales*, was read the third time, and paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords.

The reſt of this day was ſpent in returning an Anſwer to his Majeſties Speech.

On *Munday* following a Bill to prohibit the Importation of Foreign Guns, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading.

And Mr. *Aulnutt* and Mr. *Herbert* were Ordered to be diſcharged, being firſt Cenſured on their Knees, and paying their Fees.

And that Sir *John Lloyd* Mayor, and *William Jackſon* and *William Clutterbuck* late Sheriffs of *Briſtol*, be ſent for into Cuſtody.

On *Tueſday* the 21. of *December*, The Bill for *Uniting his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects to the Church of* England, was read the ſecond time, and committed upon the Debate of the Houſe.

And it was *Ordered*, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill or Bills for *Inſpecting and Correcting Pluralities and*

and Non-Reſidences relating to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices.

The ſame day they delivered their Anſwer to his Majeſties late Speech on *Wedneſday* the 15*th* of *December*; which I will here inſert according to my promiſe.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

AT the Opening of this Parliament, I did acquaint you with the Alliances I had made with Spain *and* Holland, *as the beſt Meaſures that could be taken for the Safety of* England *and the Repoſe of Chriſtendom.*

But I told you withall, That if Our Friendſhip *became Unſafe to truſt to, it would not be wondred at, if Our Neighbours ſhould begin to take new Reſolutions, and perhaps ſuch as might be fatal to Us.*

I muſt tell you, That Our Allies cannot but ſee how little hath been done ſince this Meeting, to Encourage their Dependance upon Us; and I find by them, That Unleſs We can be So United at home, as to make Our Alliance valuable to them, it will not be poſſible to Hinder them from Seeking ſome other Refuge, and making Such New Friendſhips, *as will not be Conſiſtent with Our Safety. Conſider, that a* Neglect of this Opportunity is Never to be repaired.

I did likewiſe lay the Matter plainly before You, touching the Eſtate and Condition of Tangier, *I muſt Now tell you again, That if that Place be thought worth the Keeping, you muſt take ſuch Conſideration*

of

of it, that it may be ſpeedily Supply'd, it being impoſsible for Me to Preſerve it at an Expence ſo far above My Power.

I did promiſe you the fulleſt Satisfaction your Hearts could wiſh, for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, *and to Concur with you in any Remedies, Which might conſiſt with Preſerving the Succeſsion of the Crown in its Due and Legal Courſe of Deſcent: and I do again with the ſame Reſervations, renew the ſame Promiſes to You.*

And being thus ready on My part to do all that can reaſonably be Expected from Me, I ſhould be glad to Know from You, as Soon as may be, how far I ſhall be Aſsiſted by You, and what it is you deſire from Me.

The Anſwer to this Speech was as followeth.

May it pleaſe Your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſties Moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, have taken into our Serious Conſideration, Your Majeſties Gracious Speech to both your Houſes of Parliament on the 15th of this Inſtant December, *and do with all the grateful Senſe of Faithful Subjects, and Sincere* * *Proteſtants, acknowledge Your Majeſties So great Goodneſs to us, in renewing the Aſſurances You have been pleaſed to give us of your readineſs to Concur with us in any Means for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and your Gracious*

* Of what Sort?

cious Invitation of us to make our Desires Known to Your Majesty.

But with grief of Heart we cannot but observe, that to these Princely Offers, Your Majesty hath been Advised, (by what Secret Enemies to Your Majesty and your People, we Know not) to Annex a Reservation, which if insisted on, in the instance to which alone it is Applicable, will render all your Majesties other Gracious Inclinations of no effect or advantage to us. Your Majesty is pleased thus to limit your Promise of Concurrence in the Remedies which shall be proposed, that they may Consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its Due and Legal Descent. And we do Humbly Inform your Majesty, That No Interruption of that Descent* has been endeavoured by us, Except onely the Descent upon the Person of the Duke of* York, *who by the wicked Instruments of the Church of* Rome *has been manifestly perverted to their Religion. And we do Humbly represent to Your Majesty, as the Issue of our most deliberate Thoughts and Consultations*, That for the Papists to have their Hopes Continued, That a Prince of that Religion shall Succeed in the Throne of these Kingdoms, is Utterly inconsistent with the Safety of Your Majesties Person, the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Property, Peace and Welfare of your Protestant Subjects.*

* It is probable His Majesties constancy in this denyal, proceeds from his own Prudence and Natural Affection, to his Royal Brother, at least it may be So for ought any thing they Know to the contrary.

* For the present; but if this be granted once, who Knowes when it may?

* The contrary of which is believed true, not onely by the House of Lords; but by almost all the Gentry and better Part of the Nation, who have another Title besides that of *Protestants at Large*; viz. *By Law Established*, which these men durst never own.

That your Majesties Sacred Life is in Continual Danger under the Prospect of a Popish Successor, is evident,

not

not onely from the Principles of thoſe devoted to the Church of Rome, *which allow that an Heretical Prince (and ſuch they term all Proteſtant Princes) Excommunicated and depoſed by the Pope, may be Deſtroyed and Murther'd; but alſo from the Teſtimonies given in the proſecution of the Horrid Popiſh Plot, againſt divers* Traytors *Attainted for deſigning to put thoſe accurſed Principles into practice againſt Your Majeſty.*

The ſame Principles varied in but one circumſtance, are owned by the Diſſenters and Common-Wealth Party, who are ſet up by the Excluſion as much as the Papiſts are defeated, which ought to be conſidered at the ſame time.

From the Expectation of this Succeſſion, has the Number of Papiſts in Your Majeſties Dominions ſo much encreaſed within theſe few Years, and ſo many been prevailed with to deſert the true Proteſtant Religion, that they might be prepared for the Favours of a Popiſh Prince as ſoon as he ſhould come to the poſſeſſion of the Crown: and while the ſame Expectation laſts, many more will be in the ſame danger of being perverted,

The ſame inconveniences have ariſen from the Expectation of another *Common-Wealth & Presbytery.*

This is that hath hardned the Papiſts of this Kingdom, Animated and Confederated by their Prieſts and Jeſuits, to make a Common Purſe, Provide Arms, Make Application to Foreign Princes, and Solicit their Aid, for impoſing Popery upon us; and all this even during Your Majeſties Reign, and whileſt Your Majeſties Government and the Laws were our Protection.

It is impoſſible for his Majeſty to preſerve this Glory, but by preſerving his Kingly Dignity and Power, which is the foundation of the other; and the Attempts

It is Your Majeſties Glory and True Intereſt to be the Head and Protector of all Proteſtants, as well Abroad as at Home: but if theſe Hopes remain, what Alliances can be made for the Advantage of the Proteſtant

teſtant Religion and Intereſt, which ſhall give Confidence to Your Majeſties Allies, to joyn ſo vigorouſly with your Majeſty, as the State of that Intereſt in the World now requires, whileſt they ſee this Proteſtant Kingdome in ſo much danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor, by whom at the preſent all their Councils and Actions may be Eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom (if he ſhould Succeed) they are Sure to be deſtroyed.

of the Common-wealth Party and the Diſſenters, hath more diſcouraged his Majeſties Allies abroad, and his true Loyal Subjects at home, Then either the Number of Popiſh Converts, the Plot, or the Fears or Hopes of a Popiſh Succeſſor.

WE have thus humbly layd before your Majeſty, ſome of thoſe great Dangers and Miſchiefs which evidently accompany the Expectation of a Popiſh Succeſſor. The Certain and Unſpeakable Evils which will come upon Your Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects and their Poſterity, if ſuch a Prince ſhould Inherit, are more alſo than we can well enumerate.

Our Religion, which is now ſo dangerouſly ſhaken will then be totally Overthrown; Nothing will be left, or can be found to protect or defend it.

No, may not the Providence of God, and the Number and Conſtancy of its Profeſſors defend and preſerve the beſt Religion in the World during the Reign of one Popiſh Prince, when Popery hath preſerved it Self under Four Princes together of our Religion?

*The Execution of all Old Laws muſt ceaſe, and it will be in vain to Expect New Ones. The moſt Sacred Obligations of Contracts and Promiſes (if any ſhould be given) that ſhall be judged to be againſt the Intereſt of the Romiſh Religion, * will be violated, as is undeniable, not onely from Argument and Experience elſewhere, but from the Sad Experience this Nation once had on the like occaſion.*

* This Violation is not neceſſary, no nor probable, conſidering the vaſt diſproportion betwixt the Papiſts and Proteſtants.

What shall the Pope be acknowledged as the King

In the Reign of such a Prince the Pope will be acknowledged Supream, (though the Subjects have Sworn the contrary) and all Causes either as Spiritual, or in order to Spiritual things, will be brought under his Jurisdiction.

now is Supream in all Causes, as well Temporal as Eccleſiaſtical? Can any man that will ſtick to his Oath, be forced to acknowledg this New minted Papal Supremacy, which never had any being but onely in St. *Peter's* Patrimony, where the Pope is a Temporal Prince? Muſt all Cases forthwith be drawn under his Juriſdiction? Then Wo be to *Weſtminſter*-Hall.

Had the Houſe any Prophets amongſt

The Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of all ſuch Proteſtants, as value their Souls and their Religion more than their Secular Concernments, will be Adjudged forfeited.

them to fore-ſee this? If a Proteſtant Prince ſhould have a mind to play ſuch a Freake, it would not be poſſible to effect it; whence then ſhall the Popiſh one get ſo much more Power?

Who invited theſe Princes Aſſiſtance? Who uſed theſe Arguments? From whom

To all this we might Add; That it appears in the Diſcovery of the Plot, *That Foreign Princes were Invited to Aſſiſt in Securing the Crown to the Duke of* York; *with Arguments from his great Zeal to eſtabliſh Popery, and to Extirpate Proteſtants (whom they call Hereticks) out of his Dominions; and Such will expect performance Accordingly.*

is the performance to be Expected? In all the Diſcovery, I never ſee the Duke Himſelf Charged to have Done or Said any of theſe things; and if *Coleman* and the Jeſuits have Treated about them in his Name, but without his Order, from them onely the performance is to be Expected, who have no power; but if the Duke had promiſed theſe things himſelf, the impoſſibility of the thing will Excuſe him Sufficiently from the obligation of ſo wicked and fooliſh an Engagement.

We

We further humbly beſeech Your Majeſty in your Great Wiſdom to Conſider, Whether in Caſe the Imperial Crown of this Proteſtant Kingdom, ſhould deſcend to the Duke of York; *the oppoſition which may poſsibly be made to his poſſeſsing it, may not onely Endanger the further deſcent in the Royal Line, But even Monarchy it ſelf.*

It is not likely but that his Majeſty did think of this before this *Addreſs* had a being; and they ſhould do well to Conſider, That the Nature and Temper of the *Engliſh* Nation is Such, as Experience ſhewed us in the late Times, That an abſolute Monarchy may be much more Eaſily Set up and Continued amongſt us, than a *Common-Wealth*; and therefore it is as poſſible that in caſe of Such an Oppoſition, the Duke may prevail and become Abſolute if he pleaſe, as that he ſhould be Overcome; and it is much more probable that this Royal Line will finally prevail, if he do not, and obtain the Succeſſion, then that an *Oliver Cromwell* will be able to Settle it in a New Family, whom all will Hate and Envy. And it ought alſo to be Conſidered, *France* may Strike in and Settle The Monarchy, Duke, Popery and Arbitrary Government, in caſe of oppoſition, which is not likely without it: Or it May be may endeavour to get the Crown for himſelf or his Brother. However, Rebellion and Civil War are as deſtructive as Popery, and therefore Never to be choſen.

For theſe Reaſons we are moſt humble Petitioners to Your moſt ſacred Majeſty; That in Tender Commiſeration of your Poor Proteſtant People, Your Majeſty will be Graciouſly pleaſed to depart from the Reſervation in your ſaid Speech; and when a Bill ſhall be tendered to Your Majeſty in a Parliamentary way, to Diſable the Duke of York *from Inheriting the Crown, Your Majeſty will give your Royal Aſſent thereto; and as Neceſſary to fortify and defend the ſame, That Your Majeſty will likewiſe be Graciouſly pleaſed to Aſſent to an ACT, whereby Your Majeſties Proteſtant*

I ſhall in the Concluſion ſhew his Majeſty had much better Reaſons in tender Commiſeration to his Poor Proteſtant Subjects, to deny their Petition and ſtick to the Reſervation, tho I believe he may grant their Bill when it be tender'd in a Parliamentary way. But as for the *Aſſociation*, I ſuppoſe His Majeſty will deſire to be Excuſed as long as

ever he is able to remember how the

Subjects may be enabled to Associate themselves for the defence of Your Majesties Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Security of Your Kingdoms.

Associated Counties and *London* defended His Fathers Person, and the Protestant Religion and Kingdom, and how difficult it will be to give him a Competent Security, That this Association against his Royal Brother, shall not be turned at one time or other, upon one pretence or other against himself, or his Government, (of which no care it seems is to be taken) Especially after Such a Menace to the Monarchy: which I believe may be Immortal, if it remains till such an Act of Parliament pass.

That is, come what will of *Tangier* and *Flanders*, the Peace of Christendome and the Power of *France*, till Your Majesty grant us these, we are resolved to concern our selves for Nothing. And when his Majesty hath granted them, and what follows, he need as little concern himself for the remainder.

These Requests we are Constrained Humbly to make to Your Majesty as of absolute Necessity for the Safe and Peaceable enjoyment of Our Religion.

Without these things the Alliances of England *will not be Valuable, nor the People encouraged to Contribute to Your Majesties Service.*

And as some further Means for the preservation both of our Religion and PROPERTY, *we are Humble Suiters to Your Majesty, That from henceforth such Persons only may be Judges within the Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *as are men of Ability, Integrity and Known Affection to the Protestant Religion, and that they may hold their Offices and Salaries* quam diu se bene gesserint. *That (several* Deputy Lieutenants, *and Justices of the Peace, fitly,*

These two Paragraphs smell so strong of the 19 Propositions at *Uxbridge*, that I wonder more at them then all the rest of this *Address*; for tho they do not in terms ask the Nomination of all these Civil, Military and Naval Officers, yet that must be the Consequence of it; for if His Majesty be Judge of the Qualities of the Men which he im-

fitly qualified for those Imployments, having been of late displaced, and others put in their room, Who are MEN of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papists and Popery) *Such onely may bear the Office of a* Lord-Lieutenant *as are persons of Integrity and Known Affection to the* Protestant Religion; *That Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace may be also So qualified, and may be moreover Men of Ability, of Estates and Interest in their Country.*

That none may be imployed as Military Officers, or Officers in Your Majesties Fleet, but Men of Known Experience, Courage and Affection to the Protestant Religion.

ployes, he may say they are at present all of them so qualified as they desire, and then there is no Need of this Address in that particular: or if on such general terms they may be allowed to have these Changed, and His Majesty shall consent to it, they may Except in the same manner against any other men his Majesty shall appoint, *ad infinitum*, till his Majesty shall Nominate themselves; or such men as they shall please to Nominate and Appoint: and they that shall be so Nominated by the Commons, will without doubt pay their respects and obedience to them from whom they receive their preferment: and all others that hope to succeed them that are So appointed at first; will regard the profit arising from such preferments, more than the glittering splendor of a Crown; and so his Majesty being deprived of the dependance, and Consequently of the defence of these Officers, shall be Exposed Naked and Friendless to the Fury of those *Reipublicans* that Murthered his Royal Father, and the Religion by Law Established, to the Mercy of those that have Sworn the Ruine of it: And finally, the Property and Liberty of the Subject shall be Exposed to those men who have given the World too good an Account already what Trusty Guardians of them they are; ever to be trusted with them again, till the Memory of the late Times shall perish not onely as to the Memories of Men, but Books and Records. But yet after all this, the branding those Gentlemen that were brought in (without the Least Exception) to Supply the places of those that were turned out of the Commission of the Peace and Lieutenancy, with the odious Titles of **Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Favourers of Papists and Popery**, is in my poor Judgment Much worse; and as it was impossible the Major part of the House should think so of them all, so I am fully perswaded if Passion had not had too

great

great a dominion over them, they would Never have vented so Crude an Assertion in So Auguſt a place, in So Serious a Manner, to his Majesty and the whole World; they may be pleased to think of this again Now the heat perhaps is over: for as they have worded it, it can never be maintained; it being impossible to be known or proved, nor is any favourable Construction to be allowed to an Expression and Declaration so publickly and deliberately made by so many men, in so publick a Trust.

These our Humble Requests being obtained, we shall on our parts be ready to Assist Your Majesty for the preservation of Tangier, *and for putting your Majesties Fleet into Such a Condition as it may preserve your Majesties Soveraignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.*

If Your Majesty hath or shall make any Alliances for Defence of the Protestant Religion, and Interest and Security of this Kingdom, this House will be ready to Assist and Stand by your Majesty in the Support of the same.

AFTER this our Humble Answer to Your Majesties Gracious Speech, we hope no Evil *instruments whatsoever shall be able to lessen your Majesties* Esteem *of that Fidelity and Affection we bear to Your Majesties Service; but that Your Majesty will always retain in your Royal Breast that Favourable Opinion of Us your Loyal Commons, that those other good Bills which we have now under Consideration, Conducing to the great* Ends *we have before Mentioned, as also all Laws for the Benefit and Comfort of Your People, which shall from time to time be tendred for Your Majesties Royal Assent*

Doubtless after all this fine Language and strong Reason, if any Evil Instrument, any man of Arbitrary Principles, or favourer of Papists or Popery, or finally if his Majesty or any Considerable part of the Nation, should thro humane infirmity happen to Suspect either your Prudence in delaying the Care of these Great Things to so long a day, or your Loyalty in making these demands of your Natural Soveraign; or your Charity and Candor in bestowing Commendations on your fellow Subjects his Majesties Of-

Assent; shall find acceptance with Your Majesty.

ficers at the rate you have done; I say, if any such misfortune should happen; you are not to Wonder much at it, for great Merits and great Virtues, great Attempts and Heroick Undertakings are Seldom well received at present, but Posterity will Admire and Applaud them according to their Deserts.

I will here insert those Reasons I mentioned above against the Bill of Exclusion, which were delivered in the House of Commons the Fourth day of *November* before this *Address*, by a Great Person, a Member of that House, Sir *L. J.* by which letters I understand Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State.

" *Sir*, I have spent much of my time in studying " the Laws of this Land, and I pretend to know some- " thing of the Law of Foreign Countries, as Well as " of our own; and I have upon this occasion well con- " sidered of them, but cannot find how we can Justifie " the passing of this Bill, rather much against it.

" First, I think it contrary to Natural Justice, that " We should proceed to Condemnation not only before " Conviction, but before we have heard the Party, or " Examined any Witness about him, I am sure none in " his defence. And to do this, by making a New Law " of purpose, when you have Old Laws in being that " have appointed a Punishment to his Crime, I humbly " conceive is very Severe, and contrary to the usual " Proceedings of this House, and the Birth-Right of " every English-man.

" Secondly, I think it is Contrary to the Principles " of Our Religion, that we should dispossess a man of " his Birth-Right, because he differs (from us) in point of " Faith. For it is not agreed by all, that Dominion is

" founded

" founded in Grace. For my part, I think there is more " of Popery in this Bill, than there can poſſibly be in " the Nation without it; for none but *Papiſts* and " *Fifth-Monarchy-men* did ever go about to diſ-inherit " men for their Religion.

" Thirdly, I am of opinion that the Kings of *England* " have their Right from God alone, and that no Power " on Earth can deprive them of it. And I hope this " Houſe will not attempt to do any thing, which is ſo " preciſely contrary not only to the Law of God, but " the Law of the Land too. For if this Bill ſhould paſs, " it would Change the Eſſence of the Monarchy, and " Make the Crown *Elective*. For by the ſame reaſon " that this Parliament may diſ-inherit this Prince for " his Religion; other Parliaments may diſ-inherit an- " other, upon ſome other pretence which they may " Suggeſt, and ſo Conſequently by ſuch Excluſions elect " whom they pleaſe.

" Fourthly, It is againſt the Oath of Allegiance, taken " in its own ſenſe, without Jeſuitical Evaſions: For by " binding all perſons to the King, his Heirs and Succeſ- " ſors, the Duke as *Preſumptive Heir* muſt be under- " ſtood. And I am of opinion that it cannot be diſpen- " ſed withal. *Sir*, I will be very cautious how I diſpute " the Power of *Parliaments*. I know the *Legiſlative* is " very great, and it ought to be ſo: But yet I am of " opinion, That Parliaments cannot diſ-inherit the Heir " of the Crown, and that if ſuch an *ACT* ſhould paſs, " it would be invalid in it ſelf. And therefore I hope it " will not ſeem ſtrange, that I ſhould offer my Judgment " againſt this Bill, while it is in *Debate*, in which I think " I do that which is my Duty as a Member of this " Houſe.

" *Henry* the Fourth of *France* was a Proteſtant, his

" People

"People most Papists, who used some endeavours, to "prevent his coming to the Crown; but when they "found they were not likely to perfect their design "without occasioning a Civil War, they desisted, con- "cluding, that a Civil War would probably bring on "them more misery than a King of a different Religion, "and therefore Submitted. *Sir*, I hope we shall not "permit our Passions to Guide us instead of Reason, &c. Thus far that Great Person.

To these Reasons if we please to add this other, That it is so far from preventing our Calamities, that it will Ascertain them at his Majesties Death with the Addition of a Civil War, and in all likelyhood bring that upon us before that time; for so soon as ever the Bill pass, the Duke will have a Right to make a War upon *England* even in his Majesty's Life-time; and what may be the event of that, God onely Knows. However, to prevent Surprize, there must be *A Standing Army* or an *Association* Kept up as long as the Duke Lives; and what the Consequences of them are, may be foreseen without difficulty; the first Ruining the Liberties of the People, and the Second Endangering the Prerogatives of the Crown; and both of them in the divided Condition *England* now is, in point of Religion, tending to raise such Fears and Jealousies, as will be almost as Uneasie and as Unsafe as a Popish Successor; and all this brought upon us immediately; whereas the other is future and Contingent.

† This is a mistake in the printer, and Rectified in the advertisement att the end of the Booke

On *Thursday* the 23d. of *December*,

The Commons *Ordered*, That the *Thanks of the House* should be given to Dr. *Burnett* for his Sermon Preached the day before, and likewise for his Book relating to the *History* of the Reformation of the Church of *England*; and that he be desired to Print his said Sermon. And

on *Thurſday* the 5th of *January* following, they Voted that he ſhould *be deſired to proceed with and Compleat that good Work by him begun, in Writing the Hiſtory of the* Reformation *of the Church of* England.

They *Ordered*, That Leave ſhould be given to bring in a Bill or Bills to *Correct and Puniſh Atheiſme, Blaſphemy, Swearing and Debauchery, and for the better Obſervation of the Lords Day.*

Theſe and ſeveral other Crimes have grown and prevailed upon this Nation for want of a Church Diſcipline, and by reaſon of the Diviſions amongſt us in Points of Religion; and till theſe things be taken care of, all Laws againſt them will ſignifie Nothing. Yet it might deliver the Government from the guilt of them, and therefore it is heartily to be wiſhed, that Care may be taken to perfect this good Deſign; and when further Care is taken of the Lords Day, ſome care would be taken of the other Feaſts and Faſts by Law Eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England.*

This day alſo the Lords returned the *Additional Act* for Burying in Woollen, paſſed without Amendment.

And by another Meſſage Certified to the Commons, *That at their Riſing they would Adjourn to the Next* Munday *Seven-night after.*

And by another Meſſage they ſent down Mr. *Seymour's* Anſwer to the Articles of Impeachment againſt him.

The ſame day the *Commons* alſo paſſed a Vote of an Extraordinary Nature, which was as followeth.

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That Mr. Joſeph Brown *ought to be reſtored to all the Offices and Places which were taken from him, by occaſion of a Judgment given againſt him in the Court of* Kings-Bench *in* Trinity *Term* 29 Caroli Secundi, *upon an Information*

for

for publiſhing an Unlicenſed Book, called, The Long Parliament Diſſolved.

Theſe Sorts of Writers were Now to be encouraged what might be, but what Benefit *Brown* had by this *Vote*, I never heard.

But the Next day being the 24*th* of *December*, they took occaſion to Chaſtiſe one *Richard Thompſon* Clerk, very *Severely*; for he having been Complained of by ſome of the Diſſenters who were Now the White Boys, and the Sober Loyal Proteſtants; and it having been remitted to a *Committee* to enquire into his Miſdemeanors, the Houſe upon the return of the *Committee*, paſſed theſe *Votes*.

Reſolved N. C. That Richard Thompſon *Clerk, has publickly defamed His Sacred Majeſty, Preached Sedition, Vilified the Reformation, Promoted Popery by Aſſerting Popiſh Principles, Decrying the Popiſh Plot, and turning the ſame upon the Proteſtants, and endeavoured to Subvert the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliament; and that he is a Scandal and Reproach to his Function.*

Reſolved, That he be Impeached, and a Committee appointed to prepare the ſaid Impeachment, and that the Report and the Reſolution of the Houſe thereupon be forthwith Printed.

This *Thompſon* was accuſed for ſeveral Expreſſions both in Preaching and Diſcourſe: But they moſtly fixed upon a Sermon Preached the 30*th* of *January*, 1679. wherein he ſaid (it ſeems) the *Presbyterians* were ſuch perſons as the Devil Bluſht at. Accuſed *Hamden* for chooſing to Rebel rather than pay the *Ship-Money*; which he ſaid was the King's Right by Law. Accuſed Mr. *Calvin* to have been the firſt that Preached the *King-Killing* Doctrine: And from thence inferred, That a

See the Printed Papers.

Presbyterian *qua talis* is as great a *Traytor as any Prieſt or Jeſuit*: But one Witneſs ſaith he ſaid, *Worſe*. And that he had alſo frequently caſt Evil Aſperſions againſt *Several Divines at* Briſtol *of Great Note*, viz. Mr. *Chetwind*, Mr. *Standfaſt*, Mr. *Craſsman*, and Mr. *Palmer* and others, ſaying, *That ſuch as went to their Lectures* were *the Brats of the Devil.*

2. That he had ſpoken in Sermons and elſewhere, ſeveral hard Things againſt the Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament; as, *That it was the Seed of Rebellion*, and like to 41. &c.

3. That he had ſaid, *There was great Noiſe of a Popiſh Plot, but there was Nothing in it but a Presbyterian Plot*, &c.

4. He was Accuſed to have approved of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, in the Points of *Juſtification, Auricular Confeſsion, Penance, Extream Unction*, and *Criſme*, in *Baptiſme*, and the *Single Life of the Clergy*; ſaying, *That if he were as well Satisfied of other things as he was of theſe, he would not have been ſo long Separated from the Catholick Church.*

5. He had ſpoken (as they ſaid) ſome ill things of Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Henry* the 8*th*, as *Church-Robbers*; and againſt his Majeſty too; which tho I care not to repeat, yet they are nothing in compariſon to what the Diſſenters have publiſhed in Print againſt his Majeſty.

What Anſwer the Man would have made for himſelf, I know not, for the Parliament never brought him to an hearing.

But upon inquiry, I find, notwithſtanding all this Clamour, the Man hath a great and good Report, for his Piety, Learning and Prudence; but his Zeal for the Religion Eſtabliſhed, drew this Storm upon him from the Exaſperated Diſſenters; who never ſtick thus to blaſt the

the Fame of Good Men when it ſerves their ill deſigns.

But to return from this Digreſſion. The Bill for Exempting his Majeſties *Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of* England *from the Penalties of Certain Laws*, was read a ſecond time, and Committed upon a Debate of the Houſe to the *Committee* to whom the Bill for *Uniting* of his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects was Committed upon a Debate of the Houſe.

Then the Bill for Baniſhing the Papiſts out of the King's Dominions, was read a ſecond time, and committed upon the Debate of the Houſe.

Then the Houſe adjourned till *Thurſday* the 30*th* of *December*.

That day the Houſe met and Ordered, That the Committee appointed to prepare Evidence againſt the 4. Popiſh Lords in the *Tower*, ſhould look into the Evidence, and Report their Opinions to the Houſe in Order to the further Directions and Proceedings of the Houſe againſt them.

Reſolved, That the ſeveral Writings, Papers and Proceedings relating to ſuch Members of the late Long Parliament as received Allowances out of the Moneys appointed for Secret Services, be produced to this Houſe.

Reſolved N. C. That no Member of this Houſe ſhall accept of any Office or Place of Profit from the Crown without Leave of the Houſe, or any Promiſe of any ſuch Office or Place of Profit during ſuch time as he ſhall continue a Member of the Houſe, and that the offenders herein ſhall be Expelled.

It ſeems they had diſcovered that ſome of their Zealous men were Selling themſelves to the Court-Party for Preferment, and prepared this *Vote* to keep the Party together.

Friday

Friday the 31*th* of *December*.

The Bill for prohibiting the importation of Forein Guns, was read the ſecond time and rejected.

Leave was alſo given to bring in a Bill for Regulating the abuſes in making Casks, Barrels, and other Veſſels. And

A Committee appointed to peruſe the Laws relating to *Weights and Meaſures*, and to report their Opinions in the ſame, and to bring in a Bill or Bills for the better Regulating and Aſcertaining the ſame.

Ordered alſo, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for a *General Naturalization of Alien-Proteſtants*, and allowing them liberty to Exerciſe their *Trades* in all Corporations.

A Bill for *Relief of the Subjects againſt Arbitrary Fines*, was read a ſecond time and committed.

Then the Houſe Adjourned till *Munday* the 3*d*. of *January*.

Which day *An Act for limiting the times of Importation of Cattel from Scotland*, being read the third time, paſſed, and was ſent up to the Lords. Then

A Bill for *Repealing an Act made in the* 13*th Year of his Now Majeſties Reign*, intituled, *An ACT for the Well-Governing and Regulating of Corporations*, was read the firſt time, and Ordered to be read again.

A Bill for the better diſcovery of *Settlements to Superſtitious Uſes*, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading the *Friday* following at Ten of the Clock in a full Houſe.

The ſame day the Lords ſent down a Bill to the Commons, Intituled, *An Act for diſtinguiſhing Proteſtant Diſſenters from Popiſh Recuſants*. To which they deſired the Concurrence of the Houſe.

The Lords ſent down another Meſſage, to put the Commons

Commons in mind of the Bill for the *Better regulating of the Tryals of the Peers of* England.

And Another Meſſage to acquaint them, *That their Lordſhips had received a Petition from Mr.* Seymour, *for a ſpeedy Tryal.* Upon which the Commons read his *Anſwer* to their *Impeachment*, which had lyen by them ſome time; and ordered a Committee to prepare Evidence againſt him, and Manage it at his Tryal.

On *Tueſday* the *4th* of *January.*

His Majeſty ſent the Commons another Meſſage, which is as followeth.

CHARLES *R.*

HIS Majeſty received the Addreſs *of this Houſe with all the diſpoſition they could wiſh, to comply with their reaſonable deſires; but upon peruſing it, he is Sorry to See their Thoughts ſo wholly fixed upon the Bill of Excluſion, as to determine that all other Remedies for the Suppreſsing of Popery will be ineffectual; His Majeſty is Confirmed in his Opinion againſt that Bill by the Judgment of the Houſe of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains Nothing more for him to ſay in anſwer to the* Addreſs *of this Houſe, but to recommend to them the Conſideration of all other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, in which they have no reaſon to doubt of his Concurrence, when ever they ſhall be preſented to him in a Parliamentary way; and that they would Conſider the preſent State of the*

King-

Kingdom, as well as the Condition of Chriſtendom, in Such a Manner as may inable him to Preſerve Tangier, *and Secure his Alliances abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at home.*

This Meſſage being read in the Houſe, they Reſolved to take into Conſideration the *Friday* following in a full Houſe.

The ſame day the Lords ſent down a *Vote* which they made that day.

Die Martis 4 *January*, 1680.

Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, That they do declare that they are fully Satisfied, that there now is, and for divers years laſt paſt there hath been, a Horrid and Treaſonable Plot and Conſpiracy contrived and carried on by thoſe of the Popiſh Religion in Ireland, *for Maſſacring the* Engliſh, *and Subverting the Proteſtant Religion, and the ancient Eſtabliſhed Government of that Kingdom*; To which their Lordſhips deſired the Concurrence of the Commons.

On *Wedneſday* the 5*th* of *January*.

Richard Thompſon was Ordered upon his Petition to give ſufficient Security for his forth-coming to the Serjeant at Arms attending that Houſe, to Anſwer to the Impeachment againſt him; and ſo was diſcharged of his Impriſonment.

I can ſee No reaſon why he ſhould be proſecuted by an Impeachment in Parliament. It being beneath the Dignity of the Houſes to Concern themſelves with ſuch a man as Mr. *Thompſon* muſt needs be, who might much better have been proceeded againſt in the Spiritual

tual or Civil Courts, (if the Accuſations were all True;) but that his Blaſpheming *Calvin* and the Loyal Presbyterian Proteſtants, would have ſignified Nothing there; as I believe they would not before the Lords, if he had been Tryed.

Formerly the Commons impeached none but ſuch as were too great to be proſecuted any where elſe; and that but rarely, and upon great Neceſſity: This made them Venerable and Dreadful; but this Courſe for Small or No faults to impeach and impriſon great Numbers of Mean People which they followed in this Seſſion, tended to Nothing but the Waſting their time: and Hindering greater Affairs to the damage of the King and Kingdome.

The ſame day the Commons agreed an Impeachment againſt Sir *William Scroggs* Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Kings-Bench*; and Ordered others to be drawn againſt Sir *Francis North* Chief Juſtice of the Court of *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Thomas Jones*, one of the Juſtices of the *Kings-Bench*, and Sir *Richard Weſton*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*. So they were reſolved to find themſelves work, tho they had refuſed to do the King's Buſineſs till that was granted, which was impoſſible to be had this Seſsion of Parliament.

Thurſday, the *6th* of *January*, A Bill for the more Eaſie Collecting the Duty of Hearth-Money was read a ſecond time and committed upon the Debate of the Houſe,

A Bill for Repealing the *Act* for the *Well-Governing of Corporations*, was read the ſecond time and committed.

Sir *Philip Skippon* was Excuſed from being taken into Cuſtody for his Default in not attending the Houſe in the Call there of the *Tueſday* before.

Colonel *Birch* reporting from the Committee appointed to receive Informations relating to the *Popiſh Plott* in *Ireland*, *That the Committee, having proceeded upon the Matters to them referred, had taken ſeveral Examinations, and received the Anſwer of Sir* John Davis, *and had alſo peruſed ſeveral Informations tranſmitted from the Houſe of Lords relating to the ſaid Plott.* All which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered the ſame in at the Clerks Table, where the ſame were again read.

The Houſe then took into Conſideration the Meſſage ſent from the Lords the *Tueſday* before, wherein they deſired the Concurrence of the Houſe, and Reſolved,

That the Houſe did agree with the Lords, with the addition of theſe Words, That the Duke of York *being a Papiſt, and the Expectation of his coming to the Crown, hath given the Greateſt Countenance and Encouragement thereto, as well as to the Horrid Popiſh Plot in this Kingdome of* England.

And they reſolved to deliver the ſaid *Vote* to the Lords at a Conference, and Appointed a Committee to draw up Reaſons to be offered at the ſaid Conference.

Ordered, That the ſeveral Informations of John Macnamara, Maurice Fitz-Gerrald, *and* James Maſh, *that day read to the Houſe, relating to the* Iriſh *Plot, be forthwith Printed.*

Reſolved, That Rich. Poure *Earl of* Tyrone *in the Kingdom of* Ireland, *be Impeached of High Treaſon; And that the Lord* Durſley *do go up to the Bar of the Lords and Impeach him, &c. and pray that he may be Committed to Safe Cuſtody.*

And further *Ordered, That the Committee appointed to prepare the Evidence againſt the Popiſh Lords in the* Tower, *do prepare the ſaid Impeachment.*

Ordered, That the further Conſideration of the ſaid Report

part in relation to Arthur *Earl of* Angleſey *and Sir* John Davis, *be Adjourned to* Saturday *Morning next at Ten of the Clock in a full Houſe.*

When it was Adjourned to *Munday* following, which was their laſt day, and gave them occaſion for other Thoughts.

On *Friday* the *7th* day of *January.*

The ingroſſed Articles of Impeachment againſt Sir *William Scroggs* were Read, and ſent up to the Lords by the Lord *Cavendiſh.*

A Bill to prevent *Vexatious Actions*, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading.

A Bill to prevent the Symony of one perſon from prejudicing another, was read the firſt time, and Ordered a ſecond reading.

The Bill of Diſcovery of Settlements of Eſtates for Superſtitious Uſes, was read the ſecond time and committed upon the debate of the Houſe.

Then the Houſe according to their Order, entred into Conſideration of his Majeſty's Meſſage ſent to the Houſe the *Tueſday* before; and *Voted* as followeth.

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That there is no Security or Safety for the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Life, or the Well Conſtituted and Eſtabliſhed Government of this Kingdom, without paſſing a Bill for diſabling James *Duke of* York *to Inherit the Imperial Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other means or remedies, without ſuch a Bill, is not onely Inſufficient but dangerous.*

Reſolved, That his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage having aſſured this Houſe of his readineſs to Concur in all other means for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That until a Bill be likewiſe paſſed

for Excluding the Duke of York, *this Houſe cannot give any Supply to his Majeſty, without Danger to his Majeſties Perſon, Extream Hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to Thoſe by whom this Houſe is truſted.*

It ſeems the loſs of *Tangier* and of all our Alliances abroad, did not at all Hazard the Proteſtant Religion, or Endanger his Majeſties Perſon.

Reſolved, That all Perſons who Adviſed his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage to this Houſe, to inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the Bill for Excluding the Duke of York, *Have given pernicious Counſel to his Majeſty, and* Are Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdome.

Reſolved, That George *Earl of* Halifax, Henry *Marqueſs of* Worceſter, *Henry Earl of* Clarendon, *in the Opinion of this Houſe are perſons who Adviſed his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage to this Houſe, to inſiſt upon an Opinion againſt the Bill for Excluding the Duke of* York, *and have therein given pernicious Counſel to his Majeſty, and are Promoters of Popery, and* Enemies *to the King and Kingdom.*

Reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove Lawrence Hide *Eſq; from his Majeſties Councils and Preſence, and from his Office in the Treaſury for ever.*

Reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to remove Henry *Marqueſs of* Worceſter, *from his Preſence and Councils, and all the Offices and Imployments of Honour and Profit, for ever.*

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That Lewis *Earl of* Feverſham *is a Promoter of Popery and of the* French *Intereſt, and a* Dangerous *Enemy to the King and Kingdom. Reſolved, That an Humble Addreſs be made to his Majeſty, to remove him from all Military Offices*

ſices and Commands, and from all other Publick Offices and Imployments, and from his Majeſties Councils and Preſence for ever.

But here was no Addreſſes Voted againſt *George* Earl of *Halyfax*, nor *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon*.

A Motion being made alſo for an *Addreſs* to his Majeſty, to remove *Edward Seymour* Eſq; from his Majeſtes Council and Preſence; it was Adjourned to the *Munday* following.

Having taken all this care to Chaſtiſe the Great Men, who as they believed had oppoſed them in this great buſineſs; in the Next place they undertook to Chaſtiſe his Majeſty Himſelf, and if their deſign had taken effect, as it is to be hoped it Never will, his Majeſty and all his Succeſſors ſhould have Known what it is to Anger a Houſe of Commons. However they meant well; for they

Reſolved, That whoever ſhould hereafter *Lend or cauſe to be lent by way of Advance, any Money upon the Branches of the King's Revenue ariſing by Cuſtoms, Exciſe or Hearth-Money*, (that is, all the principal Branches) *ſhall be Adjudged to hinder the Sitting of Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament.*

Reſolved, That whoever ſhall accept or buy any Tally of Anticipation upon any part of the King's Revenue; or whoſoever ſhall pay ſuch Tally hereafter to be ſtruck, ſhall be adjudged to hinder the Sittings of Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſable therefore in Parliament.

Firſt they Reſolve they would give nothing themſelves, and then they terrify all others as much as in them lyeth from *Lending or Advancing* any Money to him; which was not according to their Writ of Election to Adviſe his Majeſty, but by dureſs to force and compel him to Submit to their better Judgment as became Loyal and Dutiful Subjects.

So

So that his Majesty might well say of these *Votes*, That instead of giving him assistance to Support his Allies, or enabling him to Preserve *Tangier*, they tended rather to disable him from contributing towards either, by his own *Revenue* or *Credit*, not only exposing him to all Dangers that might happen either at home or abroad; but endeavouring to deprive him of the possibility of Supporting the Government it Self, and to reduce him to a more helpless condition than the meanest of his Subjects. A *Sad* and a very *Just Complaint*, and Accordingly resented by that vast Number of People that have since *Addressed* to thank his Majesty for that *Declaration.*

On *Saturday* the 8*th* of *January.*

The Lords sent a Message to the Commons to acquaint them that their Lordships had appointed that day Sevennight for hearing the Cause upon the Impeachment of Mr. *Seymour*, and that their House might reply if they thought fit, but they had no leisure to take notice of it.

Information being given to the House by the Serjeant at Arms that Sir *John Lloyd*, Sir *Edward Philips*, *Herbert Herring*, *Miles Baspole*, *Iles*, and *Arthur Teomans*, who for divers great Misdemeanors by them committed (as was pretended) against the Priviledge of their House, were Ordered to be taken in Custody of the said *Serjeant*, did Abscond themselves, that the said Order could not be put in Execution against them; hereupon they

Ordered, That an Humble Application should be made to his Majesty from their House, by Such Members thereof as were of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council; desiring his Majesty to Issue out his Royal Proclamation for the Apprehending the said several persons, in case they should

ſhould not render themſelves to the Serjeant by a certain day therein to be limited.

The ſame day they *Ordered*, That a *Committee* ſhould be Appointed to inſpect the Journals of their Houſe, and of the Houſe of Lords, and *Precedents*, to Juſtify and Maintain, *That the Lords ought to Commit Perſons to Safe Cuſtody when Impeached for High Treaſon by the Commons in Parliament, and to make report thereof to the Houſe.* Which *Vote* had relation to Sir *William Scroggs*.

And ſo we are come to the day that finally put an End to all their Proceedings, which was *Munday* the 10*th* day of *January*; and a great Wonder it was that his Majeſty could endure them ſo long.

They began the day with a *Vote*, which ſhews the Meaning and Tendance of all the reſt.

Reſolved, That whoſoever Adviſed his Majeſty to Prorogue this Parliament to any other purpoſe than in order to the paſſing of a Bill for the Excluſion of James *Duke of* York, *is a betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Kingdom of* England, *A Promoter of the* French *Intereſt, and a Penſioner to* France.

They Knew then that they were to be Prorogued, but they Knew not by whoſe Advice; and ſo if his Majeſty did it without any Advice, then all theſe Hard words were thrown at him: but by whomſoever it were done, this *Vote* could have no good meaning or effect, and muſt end in Smoke or Tumults; and Confuſion.

2. *Reſolved, That the Thanks of this Houſe be given to the City of* London *for their Manifeſt Loyalty to the King, their Care, Charge and Vigilancy for the Preſervation of his Majeſties Perſon, and of the Proteſtant Religion.*

Ordered, That the Members that Serve for the City of London, *do accordingly give them the Thanks of the Houſe.*

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the City

City of London *was Burnt in the Year* 1666, *by the Papiſts, deſigning thereby to Introduce Arbitrary Power and Popery into the Kingdom.*

Reſolved, That the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtomes and other Officers of the Cuſtom-Houſe, have Wilfully broken the Law prohibiting the Importation of French *Wines, and other Commodities; and that if they ſhall hereafter Wilfully or Negligently break that Law; they ſhall be queſtioned therefore in Parliament.*

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That James *Duke of* Monmouth *hath been removed from his Offices and Commands by the Influence of the Duke of* York.

Ordered, That an humble Application be made to his Majeſty from this Houſe, by ſuch Members thereof as are of his Majeſties Honourable Privy-Council, to deſire his Majeſty to reſtore the ſaid James *Duke of* Monmouth, *to his ſaid Offices and Commands.*

This was excellently timed, and they had ſo obliged his Majeſty, they might be ſure he would not deny them.

Reſolved, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, That the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal Laws, is at this time Grievous to the Subject, a weakning of the Proteſtant Intereſt, and incouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.

Here their Mouths were ſtopt by a Meſſage from the King, by *Edward Carteret* Uſher of the *Black-Rod*, Acquainting them that the King Commanded them to Attend him immediately in the Houſe of Peers. And there his Majeſty Prorogued them to the *Thurſday* Sevennight, being the 20*th* of that Inſtant *January*, 1680.

1. His Majeſty gave his Royal Aſſent to the *Act* Prohiting the Importation of Cattle from *Ireland.*

2. To the *Act for Supplying the late Act for Burying in Woollen.*

3. And

3. And to an *Act To rectifie Errors in Sir* Charles Houghton's *Settlement.*

There was another *Act* for Repeal of the *Act* of the 35 of *Elizabeth* ready to be paſſed, and it was Loſt No body knew how, and was never tendred to his Majeſty.

Soon after this Parliament was Diſſolved by Proclamation, to the great Satisfaction of all but the *Diſſenters*, who (if they had been able to conſider things Aright) had as little reaſon to be pleaſed with their Proceedings as any of the reſt; for they did them no other Service then to Exaſperate the King and the Government againſt them, and have made them to be more proſecuted and leſs pitied than they were before.

The Popiſh Party received almoſt as little damage by them as the *Diſſenters* did Advantage; for they bending their force Equally againſt the *Succeſſion* and *Popery*, all their *Deſigns* (if they had any beyond clamour) againſt the *Papiſts* were broken.

Their Arbitrary and Illegal Proceedings againſt the *Abhorrer's* of the *Tumultuous Petitions for the Sitting of the Parliament*, procured more Friends to the Duke of *York*, then perhaps he would otherwiſe have had, and gave the *Engliſh* Gentry an Excellent Proſpect what they might Expect from theſe *Warm Gentlemen* if ever they fell into their hands.

The King had a fair Warning alſo to look to Himſelf, and the *Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed*, when he ſaw with how little Reverence theſe *Proteſtants at Large* treated him, while his *Prerogatives* were intire, and wholly in his Own Hands; and had he but yielded to them in the Point of the *Duke* of *York*, they would Soon have taught him, how little was to be gotten by Complying with men of their temper.

The only Service they did was to the *French* King; for our Allies beyond Seas ſeeing that No Aſſiſtance was to be Expected from *England*, Surrendred their ſtrongeſt Towns

to him for the Asking, and ſo ſuffered the worſt effects of War in Peace.

The City of *London* Loſt the hopes of having any more Parliaments amongſt them till Times be better and more Settled, by their grateful Applications to them for their Loyalty and Care of the *Proteſtant Religion at Large*.

The Trade of a Conſiderable part of the Nation is ruined, not for want of Laws, but by too many, which have reſtrained that intercourſe and freedom that ought to be betwixt Us and our Neighbour Nations: yet I cannot ſay that this Parliament would have relieved the Nation in that point if they had Continued Longer, when it is conſidered with what care and induſtry the *Act* for the prohibition of *Iriſh* Cattel was carried againſt all oppoſition, tho it is damageable to a very conſiderable part of the Nation, if not to the whole; and had theſe Gentlemen been equally concerned for the Suppreſsing of Popery, as they were for this *ACT*; Some of thoſe Bills at leaſt, that were ſent down from the Lords, or began by the Commons, might have been ready as well as this for the Royal Aſſent.

Yet they had ſome very good Bills relating to Trade under conſideration, but they were not ſo Zealous in that Concern as they ought to have been: but rather ſeemed to fear the State of the People on that account ſhould be made too eaſie before they had obtained their other Ends of his Majeſty and the Government.

Of this their *Vote* about the *Act* for prohibition of the *French* Trade may be an inſtance; for however that *Act* might be of great uſe, if the *Dutch* would conſent to prohibit all Trade with them as well as We: yet as Long as they go on to Trade with them, and we do not, it onely tends to impoveriſh the King and Us; and Inrich them; and therefore ought to have been left at liberty till they and we can mutually agree to ſtop it.

Nor

Nor did the *Proteſtant Religion by Law eſtabliſhed*, fare any better, for that being equally oppoſed by the *Diſſenters* on one hand, and the *Papiſts* on the other, under pretence of Uniting us againſt the latter, the former were encouraged by their Votes and Bills to endeavour her ruine.

The Bill for Uniting his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, is a perfect Toleration of almoſt all other Religions which are or ſhall be amongſt us, except Popery; and had it, and the other Bill for Exempting them from the Penalties of the Laws made againſt the Popiſh Recuſants paſſed, it would not have been poſſible to have Executed them or any other againſt the Papiſts. For it cannot be imagined that the Papiſts could not have been able to have got themſelves Liſted amongſt ſome of our Diſſenters or other, and then upon making the Declaration, and producing two Perſons as Witneſs, that they believed them to be Proteſtant Diſſenters, they would have had the liberty to have inflamed both thoſe Diſſenters that were Comprehended, and thoſe that were Tolerated againſt the entire Conformiſts, and theſe again againſt them. And ſo both Popery ſhould have gone unpuniſhed, and the Feuds amongſt our ſelves would have grown to that height, that nothing but a ſtanding Army would have been able to have kept us in any tolerable quiet.

If the Miniſters of the Church of *England* had been part of them entire Conformiſts, and part of them Presbyterians, thoſe that were of the firſt ſort, would have kept up the Religion Eſtabliſhed as high or higher then now, and the other Party muſt have laid aſide totally the uſe of the Common-Prayer as well as the Surplice, Croſs, and Kneeling at the Lords Supper, or elſe their whole Party which now follow them, would have all left them, and ſo another Faction would have riſen in the Church of Semi-Conformiſts, and all thoſe that are without the

Church would have continued, as now they are, under other Teachers, only more inſolent, and more turbulent; and ſo inſtead of uniting us againſt the Papiſts and Popery, which is the pretended cauſe of the *Act*, we ſhould have been more divided and Animated againſt each other then now we are.

It was one of the Rules preſcribed by that Bill, *That no perſon ſhould be admitted to take the Declaration, who refuſed the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy when tendred unto him.* Now this would have left all the Quakers, Anabaptiſts, and ſeveral other Sects in the ſame ſtate of Perſecution (as they call it) as they now are; and great Numbers of the Other Sects too, when they had conſidered of it, would have Scrupled it, as well as they in *Scotland* have done: and ſo thoſe that were totally Excluded, would have been enraged againſt thoſe that had been tolerated, as having betrayed them firſt, and then left them to the *Severity* of the *Law*, and by that time all theſe Parties, *viz.* the *Rigid Conformiſts*. 2. *Semi-Conformiſts*. 3. *Tolerated*, and *Non-Tolerated Proteſtants*, all enraged againſt each other, had for ſome time been fermented by the *Jeſuits* and *Popiſh* Party, a man may gueſs what kind of *Union* there would have been amongſt *Proteſtants* in *England*.

And when they had gained all this, what Security could have been given that they would have reſted here? that *Act* which one Parliament makes, another may Repeal: and they would never have been Secure of Keeping what they had gained, but by taking care to fill the Houſe of Commons in every Parliament with the moſt Factious men they could pick out; and they could never have maintained their reputation with the Party, but by puſhing things forward, and ſo every Seſſions ſomething more muſt have been granted for the better Security of the Union, and removing of Fears and Jealouſies, till at laſt we had been brought to the ſame ſtate of Confuſion his Majeſty found us in at his Return.

That a conſiderable number of theſe *Diſſenters* are as much againſt

againſt Monarchy as Conformity, is Apparent by their Books, diſcourſes, and former practice. Now what Security ſhould his Majeſty have had, that when this Party had by impunity and time been ſtrong enough to have dealt with the Loyal Party, they would not have endeavoured to be diſpenſed with from obeying him or any other King but *Chriſt Jeſus*: and then Nothing could have united Proteſtants and Secured us againſt *Popery*, but the Laying aſide the Kingly Government, and the Setting up a Common-wealth; and of this they have already given ſome Notable hints in their Pamphlets: and when they are told the Excluſion of the Duke of *York* will onely Secure them once from a Popiſh Prince, and make them that follow more Cautious how they diſcover themſelves too ſoon; and that if any Actual King of *England* ſhould turn Papiſt, which is as poſſible and more probable then that another Heir ſhould do it, they would then be in the ſame ſtate as if the Duke Succeeded: They conſtantly reply, *That it is unreaſonable it ſhould be in the power of one man to reduce us to Popery*; that is, It is not reaſonable that Kingly Government ſhould be any Longer Continued amongſt us.

From all which I conclude, That the project of Uniting Proteſtants by remitting the Laws againſt the Diſſenters, is impoſsible; and that theſe Conſequences being Obvious and Apparent before-hand; there could be no other deſign in the Attempt but the ruine of the Monarchy, and the introducing Confuſion, and War amongſt us; at leaſt theſe would certainly have followed.

So that the day a *Toleration*, or which is all one, an *Union* amongſt Proteſtants upon the terms propounded, is ſettled, the Monarchy muſt be made Abſolute, or it will not Stand: And Proviſion muſt be made to maintain a Standing Army bigg enough to *Keep all Parties Quiet*, how much ſoever they are averſe to it, or our *Peace* at home will not be Maintained.

And

And as to all Foreign affairs, *England* muſt look on, and ſuffer all things to go as they will; for Neither King nor Common-Wealth will be in a Condition to do any thing abroad in that unſettled ſtate things will be at home; and by that time *England* comes to ſettle, *France* (if God interpoſe not by Miracles) will have brought under So many of its Neighbours, that *England* will be able to make no effectual reſiſtance if it ſhould be attacked by that Potent Kingdom.

Concluſion. My deareſt Countrymen, I humbly begg you would be pleaſed to reflect Seriouſly upon this in time, if it be not Now too late, and Unite heartily with His Majeſty our moſt Gracious and Sweet-Natured Soveraign, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed, and not ſuffer your ſelves to be led by pretended Fears into real and unavoidable Slavery and Confuſion; attended with all the Miſeries of War, and which (as much as Man can foreſee) muſt end in *Popery* and a *French* Conqueſt of us.

I have laid the Matter plainly before you, not Knowing what may follow as to my Self; but this I am ſure of, that Advantage I can have none by it. I am a private perſon, and I Expect ſo to live and die. I have no aim at any Publick Imployment or Place of Truſt, nor any means to attain it if I had: I am Contented with the State God hath Set me In: And the Utmoſt I wiſh for is; to Leave things to my Poſterity as they ought Now to be, if the Laws had their due Effects; and therefore I am compelled by Nothing but my Zealous affection for my Country, which (next God and my own Soul) I love above all things, to run the hazard of giving you this Advice, and thereby drawing upon me the Malice and Revenge of all thoſe that ſeek to Ruine and Enſlave You.

As to thoſe *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*, who may poſſibly take offence at What I have written; (for all I am

ſure

ſure will not) I deſire they would in cool blood Conſider what they have done, and then let them think of Me what they pleaſe: For if ever Faction, Anger, and ill deſigns were entertained by ſo great a Body of Men as the Major part of this Houſe was, it is Apparent they were here. And I will inſtance in but a few Particulars, tho I might in more.

Can any mortal man produce either Precedent or Law to Juſtifie the Impriſonment of the *Gentlemen* called the *Abhorrers*? Have the meaneſt people of *England* a right to Petition the King againſt his Expreſs Command, in a thing of which he is the Sole Judge, by all our Laws; and that by Multitudes of Hands procured by men that have no authority for that purpoſe; and may not Grand-Juries, Juſtices of the Peace, and other ſuch like perſons oppoſe them, or which is leſs, diſown it? But ſuppoſe they did more than they ought, was it fit to impriſon them before they were allowed to defend themſelves? *Gentlemen*, it ſerved your turn now, but it may one day be turn'd againſt you, and then conſider how you will take it. The Corporations do Now moſt of them ſend *Gentlemen*, but they may when they pleaſe lay You by; and ſend Mechanicks, Trades-men, Shop-Keepers, How would your high ſpirits brook it to be ſent for in Cuſtody, and made to Kneel (without being Suffered to Speak, and onely for doing your duties) to ſuch men, and ſo be ſent home again? I am ſure no *Engliſh* Gentleman can brook this indignity but with ſuch inward Reſentments as befit the Generoſity and Temper of that Nation, or otherwiſe I muſt think we are prepared for Slavery; and all that Manly Courage that hath made our People Renowned in all Countries in the World, is degenerated into the Moſt Shameful Effeminacy and Cowardiſe. Onely in this caſe Religion and Loyalty made them yield, even to Injuſtice and Oppreſsion. As long as his Sacred Majeſty thought fit to Suffer it, they Submitted, but with ſuch Thoughts as would have taught you more Juſtice and Moderation, if this had not been in the caſe.

Your

Your ſtyling all thoſe *Gentlemen* that had been brought in to the Commiſsion of the Peace in the room of ſome others diſplaced, *MEN of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papiſts and Popery*; and if you could have invented more Odious Names and Words than theſe, you might with as much truth and ingenuity have beſtowed them upon them. Was it fairly done, or was it not? Is it one of the Priviledges of your Houſe to *Vote Me a Jew or a Turk*, or that I was one of thoſe men that occaſioned the Breach betwixt *Charles* the Firſt and his Parliament? If it be, then I will ſay no more, but that I begg your Pardon; and Kneel down at the Bar of a *Houſe of Commons* with the ſame Submiſsion, as if I believed the *Speaker* Infallible, and every Member an Angel. But if your *Votes* ought to be not only Conſonant to Law, but agreeable to the truth of things, then that Paſſage was haſtily and paſsionately written, and not well Conſidered; and care ought to be taken for the future to *Write* more Cautiouſly, and *Speak* and *Vote* like Men that had a little reſpect to your Places.

Your *Votes* of the *7th* of *January* 1680. concerning his Majeſties Revenues and borrowing of Money upon them, are they juſtifiable or no? may I not lend the King 100*l.* if I pleaſe without your leave, and not incur the danger of being reputed an Enemy to the Sitting of Parliaments? Suppoſe the *French* ſhould Land in *England* or *Ireland*, or the Papiſts or Diſſenters riſe, and the King Want Money to ſuppreſs the one, or drive out the other, muſt we hazard his and our Ruine, rather then ſupply him by a Lone in the Intervals of Parliament, have we a Property in what is our own, and may we not uſe it as we ſee cauſe, without breach of Priviledge of Parliament?

Your *Vote* of the 10*th* of *January*, *That the Proſecution of the Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal Laws, was at that time Grievous to the Subject, a Weakning of the Proteſtant Intereſt,*

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an Incouragement to Popery, and Dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom; is as little underſtood as any of the reſt. Why was it made? To what Subject is it Grievous? To the Diſſenters? Why then let them leave their Diſſenting to the Church of *England* and all will be well. What Proteſtant Intereſt doth it weaken, for there are more Proteſtant Intereſts then one in the Nation? doth it weaken that Proteſtant Intereſt which is Settled by Law? Then ſay ſo. But how it doth encourage *Popery*, or endanger the *Peace of the Nation*, is yet Harder to be underſtood: but Suppoſe it did; what then? You may repeal the Laws, and Bills you had afoot, that would have Repealed them if they would have paſſed; but you were to be adjourned, and had not time to finiſh them: And did you think to have laid them aſleep by your *Single Vote*, without the Conſent of the Lords or the King? You ſhould have done well then to have told the Nation that you have the whole Legiſlative Power in your hands, and that it is Contrary to Law for any man to Act againſt a *Vote* of the Houſe of Commons, tho in Obedience to an Act of Parliament.

But that I may not ſeem to ſet up my own Single Judgment againſt a *Whole Houſe of Commons*, I will inſert an Authority or two Equal to them, in better Times tho they be Long. The firſt of which ſhall be an *Addreſs* of the *Houſe of Commons* the 28. of *Febr.* 1663.

May it pleaſe your Moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, having with all Fidelity and Obedience Conſidered of the Several Matters Compriſed in Your Majeſties late Gracious Declaration of the 26. *of* Decemb. *Laſt, and your moſt Gracious Speech at the beginning of this preſent Seſsion.*

Do in the first place for our Selves, and in the Names of all the Commons of England, *render to your most Sacred Majesty, the Tribute of our most hearty Thanks for all that infinite Grace and Goodness wherewith Your Majesty hath been pleased to publish your Royal Intentions of adhering to your* Act *of* Indemnity *and* Oblivion, *by your Constant and Religious observance of it. And our Hearts are further enlarged in these returns of Thanksgivings, when we Consider Your Majesties most Princely and Heroick Professions of relying upon the Affections of your People, and Abhorring all Sort of* Military and Arbitrary Rule. *But above all, we can never* enough remember, *to the Honour of Your Majesties Piety, and our own unspeakable Comfort, those Solemn, and most endearing Invitations of us Your Majesties Subjects, to prepare Laws to be presented to Your Majesty, against the Growth and encrease of Popery; and withal to provide more Laws against Licentiousness and Impiety, at the same time declaring Your Own Resolutions for Maintaining the* **Act of Uniformity.** *And it becomes us always to acknowledg and Admire Your Majesties Wisdom in this your Declaration, whereby Your Majesty is pleased to resolve not onely by Sumptuary Laws, but by your Own Royal Example of Frugality, to restrain that Excess in mens Expences, which is grown so general and so exorbitant, and to direct our endeavours to find out fit Laws for Advancement of Trade and Commerce,*

After all this, We humbly beseech Your Majesty to believe, that it is with Extream Unwillingness and Reluctancy of Heart that we are brought to differ from any thing which your Majesty hath thought fit to propose. And though we do no way doubt, but that the unreasonable distempers of Mens Spirits, and the Many **Mutinies** *and* **Conspiracies** *which were carried on during the late Interval of Parliaments, did reasonably incline Your Majesty* * *to ill humours, till the Parliament assembled, and the hopes of an Indulgence, if the Parliament should Consent to it; Especially seeing the pretenders to this Indulgence did seem to make*

* I suppose here is a word wanting.

some

ſome title to it by virtue of Your Majeſties Declaration *from* Breda. *Nevertheleſs your Majeſties moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, who are Now returned to Serve in Parliament from thoſe Several Parts and Places of Your Kingdom for which we were Choſen, do humbly offer to Your Majeſties Great Wiſdom, That it is in No Sort Adviſeable, that there be any Indulgence to ſuch perſons who preſume to diſſent from the* Act *of* Uniformity and Religion Eſtabliſhed, *for theſe Reaſons.*

We have Conſidered the Nature of Your Majeſties Declaration from Breda, *and are Humbly of Opinion that Your Majeſty ought not to be preſſed with it any further.*

Becauſe it is not a Promiſe in it Self, but onely a Gracious declaration of Your Majeſties Intentions to do what in you lay, and what a Parliament ſhould Adviſe Your Majeſty to do; and No ſuch Advice was ever given or thought fit to be offered, nor could it be otherwiſe Underſtood, becauſe there were Lawes of Uniformity then in being, **Which Could not be diſpenſed with but by Act of Parliament.** *They who do pretend a right to that Suppoſed Promiſe, put their right into the Hands of their* Repreſentatives *whom they choſe to Serve for them in this Parliament, who have paſſed, and your Majeſty Conſented to the ACT of Uniformity. If any ſhall preſume to Say, That a right to the benefit of this* Declaration *doth ſtill remain after this Act paſſed; it tends to diſſolve the very Bonds of Government, and to Suppoſe a diſability in Your Majeſty, and your Houſes of Parliament to make a Law contrary to any part of your Majeſties Declaration, though both Houſes ſhould Adviſe Your Majeſty to it.* Note this.

We have alſo Conſidered the Nature of the Indulgence propoſed, with reference to thoſe Conſequences which muſt Neceſſarily attend it.

It will Eſtabliſh *Schiſm by a Law, and make the whole Government of the Church* precarious, *and the Cenſures of it of No Moment or Conſideration at all.*

It will no way become the Gravity or Wiſdom of a Parliament, to paſs a Law at One Seſsion for Uniformity, and at the Next Seſsion, the reaſon for Uniformity Continuing ſtill the ſame, to paſs another Law to fruſtrate or Weaken the Execution of it.

It will Expoſe Your Majeſty to the reſtleſs Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and of every ſingle perſon alſo, that ſhall preſume to diſſent from the Church of **England.**

It will be a cauſe of increaſing Sects and Sectaries, whoſe Numbers will weaken the true Proteſtant profeſsion ſo far, that it will at laſt become difficult for it to defend it ſelf againſt them. And which is yet further Conſiderable, thoſe Numbers which by being troubleſom to the Government, find they can Arrive to an Indulgence, will, as their Numbers increaſe, be yet more troubleſome, ſo at length they may arrive to a general **Toleration,** *which Your Majeſty hath declared againſt, and in time, ſome prevalent Sect will at laſt Contend for an Eſtabliſhment, which for ought can be foreſeen, may end in* **Popery.**

It is a thing altogether without Precedent, and will take away all means of Convicting Recuſants, *and be inconſiſtent with the Method and Proceedings of the Laws of* England.

Laſtly, it is humbly Conceived, That the Indulgence *propoſed will be ſo far from tending to the Peace of the Kingdom, that it is rather likely to occaſion great diſturbance.*

And on the Contrary, That the Aſſerting of the Laws and the Religion Eſtabliſhed according to the Act *of* Uniformity, *is the moſt probable Means to produce a Settled Peace and Obedience through the Kingdom; becauſe the Variety of Profeſſions in Religion, when Openly indulged, doth directly diſtinguiſh men into Parties, and withal gives them Opportunities to count their Numbers, which conſidering the Animoſities that out of a religious Pride will be kept on foot by the ſeveral Factions, doth tend directly and inevitably to open diſturbance: Nor can Your Majeſty have any Security, that the Doctrine or Worſhip of the Several Factions, which are all governed by a Several Rule, ſhall be conſiſtent with the Peace of the Kingdom.*

And

And if any perſon ſhall preſume to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdome, We do in all humility declare, That we will for ever, and upon all occaſions be ready with our Utmoſt Endeavours and Aſſiſtance, to Adhere to, and Serve Your Majeſty according to our bounden Duty and Allegiance.

The Reaſon and Loyalty of this *Addreſs* prevailed with his Majeſty at that time, to lay aſide all his Thoughts of an *Indulgence*; and well had it been for him and us, if he had never reaſſumed them: for from his forſaking this Advice in the Year 1671. Sprung all thoſe Miſeries that now ſo much threaten him and us. But tho his Majeſty Changed, the *Parliament* kept their grounds; for in an *Addreſs* dated the 14*th* of *Feb.* 1672. they aſſert againſt *His Majeſties Declaration of Indulgence* dated the 15*th* of *March* before, *That* **Penal Statutes** *in Matters Eccleſiaſtical, cannot be ſuſpended but by Act of Parliament. We therefore* (ſay they) *the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, That the ſaid Lawes may have their Free Courſe, until it ſhall be otherwiſe provided by Act of Parliament; and that Your Majeſty would Graciouſly be pleaſed to give ſuch Directions herein, that no Apprehenſions or Jealouſies may remain in the Hearts of Your Majeſties good and faithful Subjects.*

The King not being Satisfied with this, but ſtill inſiſting that he had a Right by his Supremacy to Suſpend the Execution of *Penal Laws in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*; They replyed the 26*th* of *Feb.* following, *That no ſuch Power was ever Claimed or Exerciſed by any of his Majeſties Predeceſſors; and if it ſhould be admitted, might tend to the Interrupting of the Free Courſe of the Laws, and altering the* Legiſlative Power, *which hath always been acknowledged to reſide in his Majeſty, and the Two Houſes of Parliament. Therefore they did with an Unanimous Conſent become again Humble Suitors unto his Sacred Majeſty, That he would be pleaſed to give them a full and Satisfactory Anſwer to their firſt* Petition *and* Addreſs; *and that his Majeſty would take ſuch effectual Order, That the Proceedings in this Matter might not be for the future drawn into Example.*

To

To which ſaid laſt *Addreſs*, his Majeſty was pleaſed to Condeſcend ſo far, as to Order his *Declaration* of *Indulgence* to be taken off the File and Cancell'd.

Now the uſe I make of all, is to ſhew firſt, That the Opinion of an Excellent & Wiſe Houſe of Commons was, That an *Indulgence*, *Toleration* or *Union*, as they now call it, was of a *Miſchievous Nature*, and would finally end in *Confuſion* and *Popery*. Secondly, That if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to grant one, it being a *Legiſlative Act*, it muſt be by the Joynt Conſent of the King and the Two Houſes, and not by any one of them. And therefore I will Leave it to the Conſideration of the Gentlemen of that Houſe to Judge, Whether they did well in paſſing the *Vote* of the 10*th* of *January* aforeſaid, for *the Suſpenſion of all Penal Laws which relate to the Proteſtant Diſſenters*.

Some pretending to Excuſe them, have ſaid it was a *Vote* only in order to a Bill to be brought in for the taking thoſe Laws away. But I anſwer, There were ſeveral other Bills for that purpoſe depending; and therefore this was in vain. Secondly, There is no mention of a Bill to be brought in in the Concluſion of the *Vote*. Thirdly, They knew they were to be *Prorogued*, as appears by their firſt *Vote*, and therefore Such a *Deſign* would have been impoſſible.

Now if they had carried thoſe few Points in this Seſsion, *Firſt* not onely to *Deny* the King any Supply, but to make it Criminal for any man to *Lend* him any Money upon his Revenues; they might then in another Seſsion have gone further, and have made it Puniſhable for any man to have paid him his Juſt Settled, Legal Dues; and that would have made them able to have *Forced* this *King* or his *Succeſſors* to *what ever* they had pleaſed.

Secondly, If they might have gone on to impriſon his Majeſty's Subjects in an *Illegal* and *Arbitrary* way, for Matters that had no relation to Priviledges of Parliament, they might afterwards have *Extended* this to as many Perſons and Things as they had pleaſed, and ſo No man would have *dared* to have ſtood by His *Majeſty* againſt a *Houſe of Commons*, tho they had attempted to

Depoſe

Depoſe his *Majeſty*. Nor would his *Majeſty* in a ſhort time have been able to have Protected his Subjects againſt any injury that they or any of them had been pleaſed to have done them; which would infallibly have Subverted the *Monarchy*, and have introduced a *Common-Wealth*.

Thirdly, If they had got that great Branch of the *Legiſlative* Power into their hands, of ſuſpending the Execution of Laws by their *Vote*, they might have driven it as far as they pleaſed, and ſo have once more *Outed* the King and the Houſe of Lords, as a former Parliament did by the Same Means. I will conclude this with the Judgment of a Great and a Learned Man. *No Orders made by A Houſe of Commons in* England, *are of any Validity or Force, or receive any Submiſsion, longer then that Houſe of Commons Continues*; *and if Any Order made by them be againſt any* Law *or* Statute, *it is Void when it is Made, and receives no Obedience.* *Clarendon's* Anſwer to *Hobbs*, p. 127, 128.

His Majeſty then had both Law and Reaſon on his Side, when he ended his Speech to the Next Parliament at *Oxford*, with theſe Words:

I WILL Conclude with this one Advice to you, That the Rules and Meaſures of all your Votes, *may be the Known and Eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land, which Neither Can, nor Ought to be Departed from, nor Chang'd,* **but by Act of Parliament**: *And I may the more reaſonably Require, That You make the* Laws of the Land your Rule, *becauſe I am Reſolved they ſhall* be Mine.

FINIS.

FINIS.

ADVICE TO THE READER.

HAving received the following Papers just as this Tractate was finiſhed and Printed off, I thought my ſelf obliged to Comply with the reaſonable Requeſt of ſo many Perſons of that Worth and Quality the Subſcribers are: Thô at the ſame time I muſt confeſs, that neither I, nor this Treatiſe, do or can deſerve that Character their Civility and Goodneſs have beſtowed on us.

Sir,

BEing Inform'd that you are upon a Continuation of that Excellent Work, Entituled, *An Addreſs to the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation*; and that the Third Part of it is now in the Preſs, we take the Freedom to Trouble you with this our Joynt-Requeſt: That if you take any Notice of the Caſe of Mr. *Richard Thompſon* of *Briſtol* Clerk, in the Series of your Narration, you will be pleaſed to give Credit to the Report which we ſhall here offer you; And (if you think fitting) to Communicate it to the Publick in his Juſtification and Defence. The Particulars hereof we have partly upon very Good Authority; And we are able to Teſtifie the Truth of the reſt upon our own Knowledge and Experience as to the Character, Life, and Converſation of This Worthy Gentleman.

He was Born of Proteſtant Parents, and Educated in the Methods and Principles of the Church of *England*. He received his Orders of Prieſthood from the Hands of Dr. *Fuller* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in the year 1670. Immediately upon this Qualification, he was ſent by the Reverend Dr. *Pierce* to ſerve in his Cure of *Brington* in *Northamptonſhire*; where he continued ſome Years with a very Fair Reputation.

About the year 1675. He removed from thence to *Salisbury* upon the Invitation of the ſaid Dr. *Pierce*, then Dean of *Sarum*, where he liv'd with him in his own Houſe.

In the year 1676. The Dean beſtow'd upon him firſt a Prebend; And then a Preſentation to St. *Marie*'s in *Marlborough*.

In 1677. He Travail'd with Mr. *Jo. Norborne* of *Calne* in *Wiltſhire*; but within leſs than a Twelvemonth he was Recall'd,

Recall'd, upon the Vacancy of *Bedminſter* by *Briſtol* his Preſent Living.

When he was abroad, he neither Studyed at St. *Omers*, nor *Douay*, (as was ſuggeſted:) Nor ever ſaw thoſe Places, nor paſs'd into any part of *Flanders* or *Italy*, but *France* alone.

He ſpent near Seven Months of his time at *Paris*; and in the Academy of Monſieur *Fonbert*, a Proteſtant, ſtill frequenting the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Chappel, and receiving the Sacrament there: And during his ſtay he Preach'd twice, and read Prayers often in That Chappel.

At *Guien* upon the *Loyre*, he ſojourn'd all his time there with Monſieur *Du Paizy* the Proteſtant Miniſter, Frequenting the Proteſtant Church, and that only; Receiving the Sacrament alſo from the hands of Monſieur *Du Paizy*, to put thoſe Men out of hope of Gaining him over that had already Sollicited him by fair Promiſes of Advantage to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*.

At *Blois* he kept himſelf alſo upon the ſame Reſerve, avoiding even to Lodge in the Houſe of a Romaniſt, but upon Abſolute Neceſſity.

He was not yet ſo Rigorous as not to allow himſelf in a Curioſity to make an Acquaintance as well with Perſons Eminent in their ſeveral Orders of the Church of *Rome*, as with the Famous Men of the Proteſtant Churches.

He does not deny but that he had twice or thrice ſeen Maſs performed while he was abroad, but it was Curioſity, not Religion that carried him thither: And that he is ſo far from being ſtagger'd in his Faith by any thing he ſaw abroad, that he is the more Confirm'd in it. And that he would rather Beg within the Communion of the Church of *England*, than be the greateſt Perſon the Church of *Rome* could make him out of it.

Since his Return in 1678. No man hath kept himself more ſtrictly to the Orders of the Church of *England*. He hath taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy at leaſt Eight ſeveral times; Preaching and Acting in Conformity thereunto. He never Refus'd any Teſt of Fidelity to the Government, and Declares himſelf Ready to take any farther Teſts that ſhall be lawfully impos'd upon him.

Sir,

We have Extracted theſe Particulars from Evidences Unconteſtable; and we reckon it our Duty to God, to the Church, to Common Juſtice, and to Perſecuted Innocence, to Preſent This Account to your ſelf, in hopes that you will Tranſmit it with your own Ingenious Reflexions to the View, and Conſideration of the World.

We have Annexed hereunto a ſhort Summary of what will be Atteſted on his behalf ſince he came to *Briſtol*. And we have thereunto ſubjoyn'd ſeveral Fair and Ample Certificates in his Vindication and Defence. We could have added many more, as particularly, A Certificate of the Right Reverend the Lord Biſhop (Now) of *Chicheſter*, late of *Briſtol*, who has been pleas'd to Certifie Mr. *Richard Thompſon*, to be (in theſe very words) *A Perſon of much more then ordinary Endowments for Learning, an Excellent Preacher, and which Crowns both the Former, a Man of a Clean Life, and Unreproveable Converſation. A Perſon free from Novelties in Religion, but very ſound and Orthodox in the Doctrines he Preaches, and thoroughly Conformable as to Diſcipline*, &c. And then afterward, his Lordſhip Concludes thus.

I know no Young Man of his Years that better deſerves very Good Preferment in our Church then This Young Man doth. And this I do Teſtifie ſincerely from my Heart, and

give

give under my Hand, this Fourteenth day of September, *in the year of our Lord* 1679. *at my Palace in* Chichester.

For the Truth and Authority of the whole Matter, we are willing and ready to become Answerable, and shall take it for a singular Kindness if you will be pleas'd to let These Testimonials pass into the World at the instance of

Sir,

Your humble Servants,

Thomas Eston, Mayor.
Sir *Richard Crump*, Kt.
Sir *John Knight*, Kt.
James Twyford.
Walter Gunter.
Thomas Davidge.
John Yeomans.

Touching Mr. *THOMPSON*'s Care and Pains at *BRISTOL* in the Discharge of his Function there: And his *Reputation* among the *Inhabitants* of the said *City*.

1. IT is Undeniably known, That he hath brought over many *Anabaptists*, and *Quakers* to the Church of *England* there, and *Baptized* them *Publickly*.

2. That he hath Instructed, and Grounded many Hundreds of Children (who were afterward Confirmed by the Bishop of the Place) in the *Catechism* of the Church of *England*.

3. It

3. It is certain that he is never without a *Full Auditory*, whenſoever he *Preacheth*, or when he Readeth the *Prayers* only: And that he hath in *his time* much encreaſed the Number of *Communicants*.

4. There are many moſt Worthy Gentlemen in That City, that will not be Aſhamed to own their Eſtabliſhment in the Church of *England*, to the great Pains which he hath taken With, and Among them.

Laſtly, In Teſtimony of the High Eſteem that the Inhabitants of That City had of This Gentleman, they Met him, with a great many Horſemen, at his Return from his *Perſecution* in *London*; and bad him Wellcom again to the Place of his *Reſidence*, with the *Higheſt Expreſſions* of *Joy*, and *Acclamation*.

Sir John Lloyd's *Certificate concerning Mr.* Thompſon, *under the Seal of the Office of his Majoralty.*

WHereas *Richard Thompſon*, Vicar of St. *Mary Redcliff*, and St. *Thomas*, two Eminent Churches within the City of *Briſtol*, even from the time of his firſt appearance to officiate in thoſe Churches, hath been privily traduced, and now of late openly and maliciouſly branded, by the multiforme Fanaticks of this City, for a Church-Papiſt and Jeſuite, for the Rector of St. *Omers*, ſo Nick-naming St. *Thomas*, and with many like Terms of Obloquy and Slander, the Invention whereof may be reckon'd upon as the very firſt and peculiar gift of that Party, whoſe great and only Maſter-piece it hath been and ſtill is, by like Maliciouſly Witty and Wicked Methods and Artifices to expoſe alike His Loyalty and Miniſtry, and to leſſen that Eſteem and Reputation he hath thereby gained in the Hearts and Affections of all the Kings Majeſties Loyal & Loving Subjects within this City. Theſe

These are therefore at the Request of and just Due to the said *Richard Thompson*, to Certifie unto all, unto whom these Presents shall come, that the said *Richard Thompson*, is well known to me *John Lloyd*, Knight, and Major of the said City, and to all the Kings Majesties Loyal and Loving Subjects therein, to be a Person of most Innocent and Exemplary Life and Conversation, a most Constant and Careful Dispenser of God's most Holy Word unto the People under his Charge, a most Diligent and Zealous Assertor of the Kings Majesties Supremacy in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil, in opposition to all Schismatical and Factious Persons and Principles, under what Names soever they pass or prevail amongst us, and also of all the Christian Doctrines, together with the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, as they are now Owned and Established by Law.

In Testimony whereof I have caused the Seal of my Office of Majoralty to be affixed, Dated the Eighteenth Day of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1679

John Lloyd, Major.

The Dean and Chapter of *Sarum*, their Certificate.

Omnibus quorum interest innotescat per Praesentes, Ricardum Thompson *in Artibus Magistrum, & Vicarium de* Bedminster *juxta Bristoliam, quamdiu apud nos commoratus est, pie vitam, sobriecq; & laudabiliter traduxisse. In concionibus sepe habendis sedulo curam adhibuisse, strenue studiis Theologicis navasse operam; Nec unquam (quod scimus) docuisse quicquam vel tenuisse, quod Ecclesia Anglicana non etiam approbat atque tuetur. Cujus praesertim Disciplinae & superioribus quibuscunque ab omni parte conformem morigerumque se praestitit. In quorum omnium Testimonium, & fidem iisdem faciendam, nomina nostra & cognomina, plane & ex animo apposuimus*, Sept. 13. *Annoq; Salutis reparatae*. 1679.

Thomas Pierce *Dec. Sarum*
Daniel Whitby *Praecentor Sarum*
Ricardus Drake *Cancellarius Sarum*
Ricardus Hill *Can. Resid. Sarum*
Franciscus Horton *Can. Resid. Sarum*

A Certificate Signed by ſeveral of his Auditors upon the Thirtieth of January, 1679. *being Perſons of great Reputation for Loyalty as well as Fortune.*

THeſe are to Certifie all whom it may concern, That we whoſe Names are hereunto Subſcribed, were preſent at the Pariſh Church of St. *Thomas* within the City of *Briſtol*, on the Thirtieth Day of *January*, 1679. where we then heard Mr. *Richard Thompſon* Preach very ſolemnly on the Occaſion of that Days Faſt. To which Sermon every one of us for himſelf doth Declare, he was very attentive. And we do all hereby Certifie and Declare that we do not remember that the ſaid Mr. *Thompſon*, did then ſay in his Prayer, or Sermon, *That there was no Popiſh Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot*, or any thing to that or the like effect. And we are ready to make Oath of the ſame, if required. But on the contrary, we have heard him deteſt and abhor the Popiſh Plot. And we do further Certifie, That the ſaid Mr. *Thompſon*, is, and by all the time we have known him, hath been a True and Loyal Subject to our Moſt Gracious Soveraign, and of a very Sober and Pious Life and Converſation amongſt us, every way ſuitable to his Function. Witneſs Our Hands this Thirteenth day of *November*, 1680.

John Hicks, Alderman.	*John Oliff*,	*James Twyford*,
Sir *Richard Crump*, Ald.	*John Yeomans*,	*Daniel Pym*,
Sir *John Knight*, Kt.	*John Combes*, Sheriff.	*Thomas Hartwell*,
George Morgan,	*George Boucher*,	*Edmund Arundel*,
Thomas Davidge,	*Thomas Turner*,	*Richard Benſon*,
Edmond Brand,	*George Hart*, Sheriff.	*Francis Yeomans*,
John Broadway,	*James Millerd*,	*Thomas Durbin*,
Walter Gunter,	*Ralph Oliff*,	*Charles Allen.*
John Hellier,		

THE END.

REFLECTIONS
ON A
PAMPHLET,
STILED
A Juſt and Modeſt Vindication of the Proceedings of the Two laſt PARLIAMENTS:
OR,
A Defence of His Majeſties
Late Declaration.

BY
The Author of the Addreſs to the Freemen and Free-holders of the Nation.

Ut imperium evertant, libertatem præferunt: Si perverterint, libertatem ipſam aggredientur. Tacitus Ann. lib. 4.

Rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti de ſummis ſæpe rebus conſilia ineunt: quorum eos è veſtigio pœnitere neceſſe eſt, quum incertis rumoribus ſerviant; & plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta reſpondeant. Cæſar de Bello Gal. lib. 4.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. Clark*, for *George Wells* at the Sun in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard. 1683.

REFLECTIONS

ON A

PAMPHLET

INTITLED:

A Fair and Modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the
Two last PARLIAMENTS:

OR

A Defence of His Majesties

late Ministry.

BY

The Author of the Address to the Freemen and
Free-holders of the Nation.

LONDON:

The Author to the Reader.

THE Pamphlet on which these Reflections are written, hath so long since received its doom (for it was designed to put a stop to the many Loyal Addresses which then came in every day: And so every one that succeeded it, gave it a moral wound, by declaring to the World its weakness and folly) that it may seem a piece of impertinence in me to drag it into the light again, tho with an intent to expose it the more to the just Recentments of all good Subjects; wherefore for my own justification I think my self bound to assign the Causes, why so late, and why at all?

Know then Reader, that this same Libel, entituled, A just and modest Vindication, &c. was Printed near Six months before ever I heard there was any such thing in the World: and it was near Six more before I could get a sight of it, tho I used all the interest I could make, to borrow or buy it.

When I had it, and had read it over once or twice, I then resolved to make some short **Reflections** upon it, and put them as a Preface to the third Part of the Address to the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation, which was then going to the Press; but being

pressed

preſſed at the ſame time with an earneſt deſire to leave no material paſſage in the Libel unexamined, and wanting ſkill to bring a juſt Anſwer to it within the compaſs of a Preface to that Book, it ſwelled to ſuch a bulk, that it was totally unfit for that purpoſe; ſo I thought it was better either to Print it alone, or to ſuppreſs it.

To which purpoſe I ſent it up about Michaelmas *laſt to* London, *to a Perſon of great worth and judgment to peruſe it, and paſs a final Sentence on it, but his greater buſineſs prevented him from ſo doing till almoſt ſix months after.*

And by that time I cannot deny but that (notwithſtanding the favourable opinion my worthy Friend was pleaſed to paſs upon it) it ſeemed to me almoſt Antiquated, and upon that account I would certainly have huſhed it up in everlaſting ſilence, if I had not at the ſame time conſidered, that the ill Principles this Libel hath ſown in the minds of men, are like Seeds which lie buried in the Earth during the Winter, but if the Soil happen to be ſtirred again, and then the Rain and Sun give their aſſiſtance, they will certainly ſpring up, and produce a plentiful Crop of pernicious Weeds to annoy and diſquiet the Nation: And I am not without all hopes that theſe Reflections may by Gods bleſſing prevent ſome part of this miſchief; and although I ſhould be miſtaken in the Event, yet I am ſatisfied the Deſign is good.

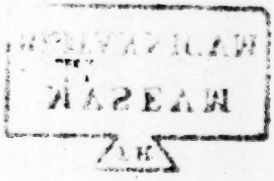
How well or ill I have performed what I undertook

belongs not to me of all men to determine; for we are apt to be too fond of the Children of our Brains, as well as of our Bodies; but they who have no such relation to them will easily observe their defects and faults, and to them I leave it to pass what judgment they please upon it or me.

I shall add no more but my earnest Prayers that God would so bless the Work that it may bring forth the blessed fruits of Peace, Righteousness. and Loyalty in the minds of all those that peruse it: and that he would deliver me, and all his Majesties Loyal Subjects out of the hands of unreasonable and factious men; and if the Reader please to put his AMEN *to this, he shall infinitely oblige me.*

March, 10. 168$\frac{2}{3}$.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM



REFLECTIONS
ON A
PAMPHLET,
STILED

A Juſt and Modeſt Vindication of the Proceedings of the Two laſt PARLIAMENTS:

BEING

A defence of his Majeſties Declaration.

THis Author, who by his ſtile and the manner in which he treats all thoſe that have the misfortune to fall under his Cenſure, appears to be no mean perſon; ſeems every where throughout the whole Diſcourſe to be tranſported with ſo much Anger and Rage; that he was neither maſter of his own Reaſon, nor able to uſe that Learning he had to any good purpoſe: From whence we may ſuppoſe it hapned, that putting the Title of his Book in the firſt lines of it, he never more thought of the *Juſtice* or *Modeſty* pretended, but a Vindicative Spirit took ſuch poſſeſſion of him, as he never became his own man after. My Reader therefore, I hope, will pardon me, if his Paſſion happens to move one in me, in any part of theſe Reflections;

becauſe is is difficult to converſe patiently with a man of this temper.

He begins thus: *The Amazement which ſeized every good man, upon the unlooked-for diſſolution of two Parliaments within three Months, was not greater than at the ſight of a Declaration pretending to juſtifie and give Reaſons for ſuch extraordinary proceedings.*

Thus my Author comes ſtaring upon the Stage, as one newly recovered out of one Amazement, and juſt then taken with another, he fanſies all the good men of the Nation under the ſame diſtraction of mind. And what was it that wrought ſo powerfully on him, that every man that was not ſo affected deſerved not the Title of a *Good Man?* Nothing in the world but the Diſſolution of the two laſt Parliaments, and the ſight of the before-mentioned Declaration. A frightful ominous ſight! He tells us afterwards there never appeared ſuch a Prodigy before, but in 1628. and that was one of the firſt ſad Cauſes (though he does not prove it to be ſo much as an Occaſion) of the enſuing *unhappy War*; a ſoft name for a *Rebellion*, which as good men never had Cauſe, ſo ill men never wanted a Pretence to ſtir up.

Pag. 3.

I can aſſure him that there were many good men who obſerved all this as well as he, who did not inſtantly fall into fits upon it. Good men can truſt God and their King, and reſt quietly and free from *Amazement* in greater Accidents than theſe.

Having a little recovered himſelf out of the Muſe he was in, thus he proceeds. *It is not to be denied but that our Kings have in a great meaſure been intruſted with the power of Calling, and Declaring the Diſſolutions of Parliaments. Have they ſo? Whoſe Truſtees are they? When did they firſt obtain this favour?*

I proteſt now I was ſo dull as to think that this right of Calling and Diſſolving Parliaments was a Natural Right, inherent

inherent in the Crown, and as old as the Britiſh Monarchy, and that at the granting of the great Charter, and at all other times before or ſince, when the Kings of *England* granted any *new Priviledges to their Subjects* they ſtill reſerved to the Crown the power of calling Parliaments when and where they pleaſed, and to continue them as long as they thought fit, and then to Diſſolve or Prorogue them. Well, but if I was therein miſtaken, yet he allows our Kings a great *meaſure* of that truſt, and who claims the Remainder of it? Not the Petitioners, I hope. No, the Privy Council, he tells us, are to be adviſed with. Now that is matter of Expedience only, not of Right; for whatever His Majeſty can lawfully do with, doubtleſs he may as lawfully (though not in all caſes and circumſtances ſo prudently) do without, the Advice of his Privy-Council, who never claimed, that I have heard of, any co-ordinate right of managing affairs with our Kings; and matter of *Advice in its own nature ſuppoſes a liberty in the Perſon to whom 'tis given either to adhere to, or to reject it.

Pro. Dom. Rege dicit, quod cum placeat ei, Parliament. ſuum tenere pro utilitate Regni ſui, de Regali poteſtate ſuâ facit ſummoneri ubi & quando, &c. pro voluntate ſua. Cok. Juriſdict. p. 16.

* The Three Eſtates do but Adviſe as the Privy-Council doth, which if the King imbrace, it becomes the Kings own Act in the one; and the Kings Law in the other; for without the Kings Acceptation both the publick and private Advices be but as empty Egg-ſhells. Sir *Walter Raleighs Prerogative of Parliaments*, pag. 57. —— *Vide & Grotium de imp. ſum. poteſt. circa Sacra.* Cap. 6.

Well, but whoever has the reſt of that Truſt, care hath been anciently taken, both for the Holding of Parliaments Annually; and that they ſhould not be Prorogued or Diſſolved till all the Petitions and Bills before them were Anſwered and Redreſſed. And for this my Author quotes two Acts of Parliament, which becauſe they are ſhort I will inſert here. The firſt is this: Item, **it is accorded that a Parliament ſhall be holden every year once, and more often if need be.** Here is every word in that Statute. The ſecond follows: Pag. 3. 4. Ed. 3. c. 14.

follows: Item, **for maintenance of the said Articles and Statutes, and redress of divers mischiefs and grievances which daily happen, a Parliament shall be holden every year, as another time was ordained by a Statute,** which is the very same that I have recited before. The Record which he quotes I can say nothing to. So I agree with him that there are two Statutes provided for the holding of Parliaments Annually, *and more often if need be*, of which the Kings of *England* have ever since thought themselves the Judges. But where are the Statutes to be found that these Parliaments should not be prorogued nor dissolved till *ALL the Petitions and Bills before them were answered and redressed?* Here is not one tittle of this in either of these he quotes, yet that is the main thing in controversie, and which only needed proving. But he goes on. *The Constitution had been equally imperfect and destructive of it self, had it been left to the choice of the Prince whether he would ever Summon a Parliament; or put into his power to dismiss them Arbitrarily at his pleasure.* Then sure it had been worth the while to have proved for what time they were to sit, as well as how often. And if this can be made out that it is an Arbitrary, that is, in the sense he would be understood in, an Illegal Act, for the King to prorogue or dissolve a Parliament, till *all the Petitions and Bills be answered and redressed*, then will it be possible for a Parliament to perpetuate it self for ever by an endless succession of Petitions and Bills mixed with other great affairs, which as it is contrary to the practice of all our Kings since these Statutes, so if it were true, the Monarchy would not then be what it now is; but be much nearer a Commonwealth. So that be the Consequence what it will, this learned Gentleman must yield, that it is at the choice of our Princes to summon Parliaments when they think it needful; and to dismiss them when they please. As for the word *Arbitrarily*, which he here useth,

36 Ed. 3. c. 10.

2 R. 2. Num. 28.

it

it is needleſs; and was ſuggeſted to him by his Spleen, and and not by his Reaſon.

That Parliaments ſhould thus meet (Annually) *and thus ſit*, (till all the Petitions and Bills before them are anſwered and redreſſed) *is ſecured to us by the ſame ſacred tye by which the King at his Coronation does oblige himſelf, to let his Judges ſit to diſtribute Juſtice every Term, and to preſerve inviolably all other Rights and Liberties of his Subjects.* Pag. 2. I thought the Law had been altered a little in the firſt particular, by a Statute made in the Seventeenth year of his now Majeſties Reign, *Cap.* 1. the words of which are as followeth. **And, becauſe by the Ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made in the Reign of King** Edward **the Third, Parliaments are to be held very often, Your Majeſties humble and loyal Subjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, moſt humbly do beſeech your moſt Excellent Majeſty,** &c. **that hereafter the ſitting and holding of Parliaments ſhall not be intermitted or diſcontinued above three years at moſt, but that within three years from and after the Determination of this preſent Parliament, and ſo from time to time within three years after the determination of any other Parliament or Parliaments; or if there be occaſion more or oftener, your Majeſty your Heirs and Succeſſors do iſſue out your Writs for calling, aſſembling, and holding of another Parliament, to the end there may be a frequent calling, aſſembling, and holding of Parliaments once in three years at leaſt.** So that ſurely his Majeſty may without breach of his Coronation Oath delay the calling of a Parliament three years, if there be no occaſion for one ſooner, of which he is the Judge. *Therefore* (as he goes on) *abruptly to diſſolve Parliaments at ſuch a time, when nothing but the Legiſlative Power, and the United* Pag. 2.

United Wiſdom of the Kingdom could relieve us from our juſt fear[illegible] ſecure us from our certain dangers, is very unſuitable to the great Truſt repoſed in the Prince, and ſeems to expreſs but little of that affection which we will always hope his Majeſty bears towards his People and the Proteſtant Religion. That there was then too much need of the Legiſlative Power and the Wiſdom of the Nation united in Parliament, is not to be denied, and that his Majeſty was very ſenſible of it appears, by his calling three Parliaments in twenty ſix Months, as my Author computes it, *page* 46. and we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to enquire by whoſe fault it came to paſs that they were all ſo abruptly diſſolved, and that will lead us to a probable conjecture why none hath been ſince called; notwithſtanding his Majeſties Affection to his People and the Proteſtant Religion is ſuch, that we have great reaſon to bleſs God for it, and to acknowledge it thankfully to him.

Pag. 2. My Author goes on thus: *But it is not only of the Diſſolution it ſelf that we complain; the manner of doing it is unwarranted by the precedents of former times, and full of dangerous Conſequents[illegible] We are taught by the Writ of Summons, that Parliaments are never called without the advice of the Council, and the uſage of all Ages has been never to ſend them away without the ſame advice. To forſake this ſafe method is to expoſe the King perſonally to the reflections and Cenſures of the whole Nation for ſo ungrateful an Action.* We may grant it the moſt uſual, and the beſt and ſafeſt way to conſult the Council in both theſe Caſes. But yet that will not preſently make the Act Arbitrary or Illegal, if it be omitted, and in this Caſe if it were otherwiſe it may poſſibly in the end appear to have been matter of neceſſity rather than choice. We may very well remember that a great number of the Gentlemen of the Lower Houſe went to *Oxford* with armed men to guard them from the Papiſts, and ſome of them told the people at parting; *They did*

Colledges Trial, *p.* 37, 57, 73.

did never expect to see them again. The meaning of which is possible to be understood. And besides these there were some other zealous men went; so that if his Majesty did not think it fit, or safe to consult his Council, and spend time in deliberating in the midst of such dangers, they must bear the blame who gave the occasion, and made it necessary. So that these are the men, next such as my Author, who are to be charged, tho not with advising, yet with necessitating the last dissolution to be made, in the manner it was, for the security of his Majesties Life and Liberty, which yet I would never have said but to justifie his Majesty. *Colledges* Trial, p. 27, 30.

But yet we must know all this Concern for the Council is not out of kindness or respect to them, he saith, *They are punishable for such Orders as are irregular; nor can the Ministers justifie any unlawful Action under colour of the Kings Commands, since all his Commands that are contrary to law, are void; (which is the true reason of that well known Maxim, that the King can do no wrong) a Maxim just in it self, and alike safe for the Prince, and for the Subject; there being nothing more absurd than that a Favourite should excuse his enormous Actings by a pretended Command, which we may reasonably suppose he first procured to be laid upon himself. But we know not whom to charge with advising this last Dissolution: it was a work of darkness, and if we are not misinformed, the Privy Council was as much surprized at it as the Nation.* Pag. 2. The sorrow was; that in the next Parliament this great Patriot would be at a loss in his hunting for some body to blame for an Action so ungrateful, as he represents it, to the whole Nation; which in my judgment is a pretty way of spending his Reflections and Censures on the King.

And this is not all his vexation neither; for in the next Paragraph he tells us, *Nor will a future Parliament be able to charge any body as the Author or Adviser of the late Printed Paper, which bears the Title of his Majesties Declaration,* Pag. 3.

Declaration, tho every good Subject ought to be careful how he calls it ſo: for his Majeſty never ſpeaks to his People as a King, but either perſonally in his Parliament, or at other times under his Seal, for which the Chancellour or other Officers are reſponſible, if what paſſes them be not warranted by Law. Nor can the direction of the Privy Council enforce any thing upon the People unleſs that Royal and legal Stamp give it an Authority: but this Declaration comes abroad without any ſuch Sanction, and there is no other ground to aſcribe it to his Majeſty than the uncertain credit of the Printer, whom we will eaſily ſuſpect of an impoſture, rather than think the King would deviate from the approved courſe of his Illuſtrious Anceſtors, to purſue a new and unſucceſsful method.

So here is all the Credit of the Declaration gone, and the poor Printer left in the lurch to anſwer it to the next Parliament for putting this impoſture on the Nation. But what comfort is there in ſuch ſmall game? A Lord Chancellour, or other great Officer, is a Royal Game, and worth the purſuit of a Houſe of Commons to pull him down; but a pitiful Printer, who can find in his heart to imploy his Oratory againſt ſuch mean Mechanicks? and as for the Privy Council they can enforce nothing upon the People without the Seal, ſo that for time to come all Proclamations, and other publick Papers, may be ſecurely ſlighted except they come Sealed with the great Seal, or ſome body be ſent with them to aſſure us he ſaw it to the Original. Thus far the Hiſtorian went, but then the Prophet comes forth, and aſſures us, as this Method is *new*, ſo it will be *unſucceſsful*. How truly the World is not now to be told.

From the Effect of the firſt Declaration of this kind, which he ſaith was publiſhed in 1628. and filled the whole Kingdom with Jealouſies, and was one of the firſt Cauſes of
Pag. 3. the enſuing unhappy War; he proceeds to tell us, *That Declarations to juſtifie what Princes do, muſt always be either needleſs.*

needleſs or ineffectual; their Actions ought to be ſuch as may recommend themſelves to the World, and carry their own Evidence along with them of their uſefulneſs to the publick; and then no Arts to juſtifie them will be neceſſary. Were all Mankind wiſe and honeſt, this Argument would be unanſwerable, but as long as ſome men out of Dulneſs, and others out of Obſtinacy and Intereſt ſhut their Eyes to the plaineſt and moſt evident demonſtrations of Reaſon, it muſt of neceſſity be ſometimes neceſſary and fit for Princes to Inform their Subjects of the reaſonableneſs of their Actions; and accordingly the ſame courſe hath ever been taken, and though it might fail of that end in 1628. yet it hath often heretofore, and doubtleſs will often again ſucceed, and the Jealouſies which then aroſe were not the effect of the Declaration, but of thoſe ill Arts by which ſuch a ſort of men as we have now to deal with, wheedled the Populace into an ill opinion of the beſt of Princes for Ends, that are now too well known to be again imbraced.

When a Prince deſcends ſo low as to give his Subjects Reaſons for what he has done, he not only makes them Judges whether there be any weight in thoſe reaſons, but by ſo unuſual a ſubmiſſion gives cauſe to ſuſpect, that he is conſcious to himſelf, that his Actions want an Apology. I never thought before that the French Kings Logick was the only Argument that became a Prince, *Car tel eſt noſtre plaiſir*, For ſo our will and pleaſure is. And thoſe Subjects muſt be very ill natured that grow jealous upon the Condeſcentions of a Prince, and judge the Reaſons of a King to have the leſs weight becauſe he graciouſly offers them to the Judgment of his People; Sure I am ſometimes God Almighty is pleaſed to do it, who only hath a right to command our abſolute ſubmiſſion, upon the account of his infinite both Wiſdom and Soveraignty. So that to ſuſpect the want of of an Apology on no other grounds than a mans willingneſs Pag. 3.

to ſatisfie the World of the juſtice of a mans Cauſe, and the reaſonableneſs of his Actions, is a perverſeneſs to which common Knaves do ſeldom arrive; the Heroes of Villany do not often riſe to that pitch of Brutality without the help of *Malmsbury* Philoſophy. And I am perſuaded that our Author would have ſpared this Cavil againſt his Majeſties Declaration if he had before-hand conſidered that in natural conſequence he charges not only the King, but alſo the Three Eſtates with ſo many deliberate Acts of folly and injuſtice as there are Acts of Parliament containing the reaſons of Enacting ſo or ſo.

Pag. 3. *If a Princes Actions are indeed unjuſtifiable, if they are oppoſite to the Inclinations, and apparently deſtructive of the Intereſts of his Subjects, it will be very difficult for the moſt eloquent or inſinuating Declaration to make them in love with ſuch things.*

And if they be none of all theſe, if a Crafty man may but comment upon them, and by Ifs and Ands inſinuate into the heads of the Common People that he takes them for ſuch, it is poſſible all the Eloquence in the World may not be powerful enough to bring them into their right wits again, but yet this may fail too ſometimes.

Pag. 3. *And therefore they did certainly undertake no eaſie task in pretending to perſuade men who ſee themſelves expoſed to the reſtleſs malice of their Enemies; who obſerve the languiſhing condition of the Nation, and that nothing but a Parliament can provide remedies for the great Evils which they feel and fear; that two ſeveral Parliaments, upon whom they had placed all their hopes, were ſo ſuddenly broken out of kindneſs to them, or with any regard to their advantage.*

No, I ſuppoſe no body was ſo ſilly as to undertake ſuch an impoſſible task: but there was another ſort of men, who had looked better into things, and care was to be taken of them to confirm them, and a third ſort that were not yet well reſolved what to think of things, and they were

were to be directed and aſſiſted, and it was not impoſſible the Declaration might have a good effect upon them, as indeed it had; as for thoſe that had placed all their hopes upon the two laſt Parliaments, and were pleaſed with all they did; there was neither hopes nor deſign of working that Miracle upon them, but they were to be left to time to be cured. And in the interim I would adviſe them to ſtudy *Colemans* Declaration, of which my Author ſaith fine things, which I care not to tranſcribe.

But ſhould this Declaration be ſuffered to go abroad any longer under the Royal Name; yet it will never be thought to have proceeded from his Majeſties Inclination or Judgment, but to be gained from him by the Artifices of the ſame ill men, who not being content to have prevailed with him to diſſolve two Paliaments, only to protect them from Publick Juſtice, do now hope to excuſe themſelves from being thought the Authors of that Counſel by making him openly to avow it. But they have diſcovered themſelves to the Kingdom, and have told their Names when they number amongſt the great Crimes of the Houſe of Commons, their having declared divers Eminent Perſons to be Ememies to the King and Kingdom. Pag. 4.

So his Majeſties Inclination and Judgment being kindly abſolved from the guilt of this Declaration of purpoſe to abate the Eſteem it ought to have. And ſeeing it is not poſſible to keep it within doors, and that ſome may think the worſe of it becauſe there was a ſham Declaration found among *Colemans* Papers, as you know there was a ſham Plot in the Meal-Tub, and yet there may be others that are real. The next Inquiry, or rather Hue and Cry, is after the Authors, and thoſe he thinks he hath found by the paſſage he cites out of the Declaration, thoſe Eminent Perſons, or ſome of them, muſt needs out of Revenge and Fear be the Authors of this Peſtilent Declaration. His Reaſon is this: *None conld be offended at the Proceedings of the Parliaments but they who were obnoxious, none could be* Pag. 4.

concerned to vindicate the Diſſolution but they who adviſed it. But is my Author ſure of that, that never a man in the Nation was offended at their proceedings but ſuch as were obnoxious to them? I am of another mind, and ſo is all the world now. Is it impoſſible for any man to be concerned to vindicate the Actions of a Prince but they that adviſe him? What pitiful Sophiſtry this is. But were no men obnoxious to the proceedings of theſe Parliaments but theſe eminent men? May not it be ſome of thoſe *Subjects who were by Arbitrary Orders taken into Cuſtody for matters that had no relation to Priviledges of Parliament?* They are mentioned before the Eminent Perſons tho of a Meaner degree. If I be not miſtaken, ſome Members too were very diſgracefully Expelled the Houſe. Might not ſome of them have a hand in it? We are aſſured a little lower, that the Writer was of another Nation from this Galliciſm, *It was a matter extremely ſenſible to us.* So that this Gentleman is ſuſpitious it is but a Tranſlation of a French Copy, and the rather becauſe Monſieur *Barillon*, the French Embaſſadour, read it to a Gentleman three days before it was communicated to the Privy Council, if his intelligence did not deceive him. So here is fair Scope left to find, or ſuſpect at leaſt, other Authors beſides the Eminent Perſons, other Adviſers beſides thoſe that were obnoxious. For I ſuppoſe Monſieur *Barillon* doth not fear a Houſe of Commons. And as for this and other Galliciſms that may occur they are not to be wondred at in an Age that generally underſtands the French Tongue, in a Court where almoſt all the Great men ſpeak it; in a Prince who hath lived in *France*, and is deſcended of a French Mother. And the wonder is not ſo prodigious neither that the French Embaſſadour ſhould get a tranſcript of a Paper, intended to be publiſhed to the whole Nation, two or three days before it was read in Council. Theſe things make a great noiſe to ignorant people, whilſt I am perſuaded this

Declaration.

Pag. 5.

Gentle-

Gentleman ſmiled to think how finely he was deluding them. But be theſe things as they will, the Eminent Perſons muſt expect to anſwer it. *And our Author thinks they cannot blame him or his Party for hoping one day to ſee juſtice done upon ſuch Counſellours. And that the Commons had reaſon for their Vote, when they declared thoſe Eminent Perſons, who manage things at this rate, Enemies to the King and Kingdom, and Promoters of the French Intereſt.* Pag.4. Pag.5.

It is not ſtrange at all (that the Parliament at *Oxford* ſhould anger the Court more than that at *Weſtminſter*) *for the Court did never yet diſſolve a Parliament abruptly, and in heat, but they found the next Parliament more averſe, and to inſiſt upon the ſame things with greater eagerneſs than the former. Engliſh Spirits reſent no affronts ſo highly as thoſe that are done to their Repreſentatives; and the Court will be ſure to find the effects of that reſentment in the next Election.* Pag.6.

The truth of this as matter of Hiſtory is very apparent, for ſo it came to paſs in the Reign of his Majeſties Father, upon every Diſſolution, the Commons made choice of the ſame, or worſe, Members; till in 1640. they had fitted themſelves with a Parliament to their hearts deſire, who reſented, not the Affronts done to themſelves as the Peoples Repreſentatives, but the ſeveral Stops and Rubs that had been laid in their way, ſo highly, that the Court, *i, e.* the King, ſoon felt the effects of it. But did the Nation eſcape? No, but Bloud and Violence, Anarchy and Confuſion took poſſeſſion of them to that height that the pious Martyr called it, *A Hell of Miſery, and Chaos of Confuſion.* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. Cap. 15.

The Author in the next line acquaints us, *That a Parliament does ever participate of the preſent temper of the People. Never were Parliaments of more different Complexions than that of* 1640. *and that of* 1661. *yet they both exactly anſwered the humours which were predominant in the Nation,*

Nation, when they were reſpectively choſen. It doth not become me to ſay whether that of 1680. were liker that of 1640. or 1661. but I muſt needs ſay, I wonder my Author could reflect ſo ſenſibly on the difference, and yet at the ſame time heighten the Popular Heats with inculcating the fears of *France* and Popery, and not rather endeavour to allay them by telling his Country-men, that twenty years Miſery followed the 1640 Parliament, and twenty years Peace the latter, which I cannot but eſteem a more Loyal and a more Prudent reflection than that he hath made; and much more neceſſary both for the Repreſentatives and Electors. Let them however now conſider ſeriouſly of it, and the next time ſend up men zealous to bring the real Incendiaries of the Nation to Juſtice, and then it is not to be doubted but ſome that are Country Favourites, will be found to promote the French and Popiſh Intereſt, as well as the Republick. And I dare then become their Sponſor (if it might not look too preſumptuouſly in ſo mean a perſon as I am) that by Gods mercy we ſhould enjoy another Score of Halſion years, to the confuſion of Popery, and the extreme damage of *France*. Both which do as certainly promote our preſent diſtempers as they did thoſe in *Charles* the Firſt his times; as have been made ſo apparent, that the Diſſenters, who were the Principals then as they are now, would fain perſuade the world that the Acceſſaries, the French Emiſaries and Jeſuits, did all that miſchief that was then done. But as this is ridiculous and impoſſible, ſo, if duly conſidered, it might prevent a relapſe into the ſame miſery and confuſion, which is more to be deſired by all good Chriſtians than the moſt delightful revenge upon the Favorites.

Colledge averred, that the Parliament of 40. did nothing but what they had juſt cauſe for, and the Parliament that ſate laſt at *Weſtminſter* were of the ſame opinon. *Trial*, p. 82,83. And to this he ſtood ſtoutly a great while after he had excuſed the 40 Parliament from beginning the War, and Murthering the King, which he ſaid the Papiſts did.

P. du Moulin's Vindication of the ſincerity of P. &c. p. 58. *London.* 1679. *Colledges* Trial, p. 81,82,83.

But it is but reaſonable to expect all that I can ſay will ſignifie but little to this ſort of men, if the modeſt Gentle-

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man I am examining may be presumed better acquainted with their tempers than I am. *For surely* (saith he) *this DECLARATION* (*what great things soever may be expected from it*) *will make but very few Converts, not only because it represents things as high Crimes, which the whole Kingdom* (the contrary of which is now too apparent to be proved on one hand, or denied on the other) *has been celebrating as meritorious Actions: but because the People have been so often deceived by former Declarations, that whatsoever carries that Name will have no credit with them for the Future.* This, I confess, is one good way to prevent the making too many Converts to Loyalty; for if a People can once be effectually perswaded their Governours are faithless perfidious men, that seek nothing but an opportunity to delude and abuse them by false pretences, there will be no great danger they will pay them too much respect and obedience. But surely the man that talks thus is some French Emisary or Jesuit, such thoughts as these never arose from a Church of *England* Gentlemans heart, for the worst enemy of *England* could not have breathed a worse insinuation into the hearts of his Majesties Subjects. Pag.6.

They have not yet forgot the Declaration from Breda, *tho others forgot it too soon, and do not spare to say; that if the same diligence, the same earnest solicitations had been made use of in that affair which have been since exercised directly contrary to the design of it, there is no doubt but every part of it would have had its desired effect, and all his Majesties Subjects would have enjoyed the fruits of it, and have been extolling a Prince so careful to keep his Sacred Promises to his People.* Pag.7.

Before this unworthy Insinuation can be effectually answered, I must transcribe so much of that Declaration as is here supposed to have failed of its effect, which is as followeth:

And

Declaration from *Breda*. *April* 4. 1660.

And because the Passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in Parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of Conversation, will be better understood, we do declare a liberty to tender Consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of Opinion in matter of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that Indulgence.

Here is his Majesties Royal Promise, wherein ought to be observed, that his Majesty promised nothing to any Party that should disturb the peace of the Kingdom. Nor to them that did not, further than that he would consent to such an Act of Parliament when it should be offered to him. So that he was not obliged to procure such an Act, nor yet to do it without an Act. And now let us see how they behaved themselves towards him.

Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, *Octob.* 25. 1660.

Whilst (says his Majesty) we continued in this temper of mind and resolution, and have so far complied with the persuasion of particular persons, and the distemper of the times, as to be contented with the exercise of our Religion in our own Chappel according to the constant practice and Laws established, without enjoying that practice, and the observation of those Laws in the Churches of the Kingdom, in which we have undergone the Censure of many, as if we were without that Zeal for the Church which we ought to have, and which by Gods Grace we shall always retain; we have found our selves not so Candidly dealt with as we have deserved, and that there are unquiet and restless spirits, who

who without abating any of their own distemper in recompence of the Moderation they find in us continue their bitterness against the Church, and endeavour to raise Jealousies of us, and to lessen our reputation by their reproaches, as if we were not true to the Professions we have made, and in order thereunto they have very unseasonably caused to be printed, published, and dispersed throughout the Kingdom a Declaration heretofore printed in our Name during the time of our being in Scotland, of which we shall say no more than that the Circumstances by which we were enforced to sign that Declaration, are enough known to the World; & that the worthiest & greatest part of that Nation did even then detest and abhor the ill usage of us in that particular, when the same Tyranny was exercised there by the power of a few ill men, which at that time had spread it self over this Kingdom, and therefore we had no reason to expect that we should at this Season, when we are doing all we can to wipe out the memory of all that hath been done amiss by other men, and we thank God, have wiped it out of our own remembrance, have been our self assaulted with these Reproaches, which we will likewise forget.

Since the Printing that Declaration several seditious Pamphlets and Queries have been published and scattered abroad, to infuse dislike and Jealousies into the hearts of the People, and of the ARMY, and some who ought rather to have repented the former mischief they have wrought, than to have endeavoured to improve it, have had the hardiness to publish that the Doctrine of the Church, against which no man with whom we

There are some seditious Preachers who cannot be content to be dispenced with for their full Obedience to some Laws Established without reproaching and inveighing against those Laws how Established soever, who tell their Auditors, that the Apostle meant when he bid them stand to their Liberties, that they should stand to their Arms, &c. *Lord Chancellors Speech*, May 8. 1661.

have conferred hath excepted, ought to be reformed as well as the Discipline.

This over-passionate and turbulent way of proceeding, and the impatience we find in many for some speedy determination in these matters, whereby the minds of men may be composed, and the peace of the Church established, hath prevailed with us to invert the Method we had proposed to our Self, and even in order to the better calling and composing of a Synod (which the present Jealousies will hardly agree upon) by the Assistance of Gods blessed Spirit, which we daily invoke and supplicate, to give some determination Our Self to the matters in difference, until such a Synod may be called, as may without prejudice or passion give us such further assistance towards a perfect union of Affections, as well as submission to Authority, as is necessary: And we are the rather induced to take this up n us by finding upon the full Conferences we have had with Learned men of several Persuasions, that the mischiefs, under which both Church and State do at present suffer, do not result from any formed Doctrine or Conclusion which either Party maintains or avows, but from the Passion, and Appetite, and Interest of particular persons, who contract greater prejudices to each other from those Affections, than would naturally rise from their Opinions; and those distempers must be in some degree allayed before the meeting in a Synod can be attended with better success than their meeting in other places, and their discourses in Pulpits have hitherto been; and till all thoughts of victory are laid aside, the humble and necessary thoughts for the vindication of Truth cannot be enough entertained.

We

We must for the honour of all those of either perſuaſion, with whom we have conferred, declare, that the profeſſion and deſires of all for the advancement of Piety and true Godlineſs, are the ſame; their profeſſions of zeal for the peace of the Church, the ſame: of affection and duty for us, the ſame; They all approve Epiſcopacy; they all approve a ſet Form of Liturgy; they all diſapprove and diſlike the ſin of Sacrilege, and the Alienation of the Revenue of the Church; and if upon theſe excellent foundations, in ſubmiſſion to which there is ſuch a harmony of affections, any ſuperſtructures ſhould be raiſed, to the ſhaking thoſe foundations, and to the contracting and leſſening the bleſſed gift of Charity, which is a vital part of Religion; we ſhall think Our Self very unfortunate, and even ſuſpect that we are defective in that Adminiſtration of Government with which God hath entruſted us.

Page 18. of this Declaration, "His Majeſty did again "renew what he had formerly ſaid in his Declaration from "*Breda* for the liberty of tender Conſciences, &c. and "declared, if any have been diſturbed in that kind ſince "Our Arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any Dire-"on of ours.

His Majeſty ſaith in the fifth page of this Declaration, The Presbyterians did only deſire modeſtly ſuch alterations in Epiſcopacy and the Liturgy, as without ſhaking foundations, might beſt allay the preſent diſtempers which the indiſpoſition of the time, and the tenderneſs of ſome mens Conſciences had contracted, for the better doing whereof we did intend upon our firſt Arrival in this Kingdom to call a Synod of Divines, as the moſt proper Expedient to provide a proper Remedy for all thoſe differences, and diſſatisfactions which had or ſhould ariſe, &c.

In the next Spring a Commiſſion was Iſſued out under the Great Seal to ſeveral Epiſcopal and diſſenting Divines to review and correct, if they ſhould ſee cauſe, the Book of Prayer, and to make ſuch alterations in it as ſhould be thought fit; inſtead of which the Diſſenting Divines rejected the whole Book, and publiſhed a new one: So that this meeting, which was deſigned chiefly in favour of the Diſſenters, diſcovered the falſhood of all their Oyly pretences, and ſhewed they were neither for Liturgies or Epiſcopacy.

They had alſo made a ſtrong Party in the Army, of which an account hath been given already.

So that the Parliament ſeeing there was no peace to be had as long as theſe men might do what they liſted; and pervert the People, and incence them againſt the Government, paſſed the Act of Uniformity to Commence from St. *Bartholomew*, 1662.

During all this time his Majeſty, notwithſtanding their ill uſage of him, mentioned in the laſt Declaration I cited, continued ſo courteous to theſe firy men as to excuſe it to the Parliament, *March* 1. 1661. in theſe words:

Gentlemen, *I hear you are very zealous for the Church, and very ſolicitous, and even jealous that there is not Expedition enough uſed in that Affair; and I thank you for it, ſince I preſume it proceeds from a good root of Piety and Devotion, but I muſt tell you, I have the worſt luck in the world, if, after all the reproaches of being a Papiſt, whilſt I was abroad, I am ſuſpected of being a Presbyterian now I am come home: I know you will not take it unkindly, if I tell you I am as zealous for the Church of* England *as any of you can be, and*

am

am enough acquainted with the Enemies of it, on all ſides; that I am as much in love with the Book of Common-Prayer, as you can wiſh, and have prejudice enough to thoſe who do not love it; who I hope in time will be better informed, and change their minds; and you may be confident, I do as much deſire to ſee a Uniformity ſettled as any amongſt you. I pray truſt me in that Affair, I promiſe you to haſten the diſpatch of it with all convenient ſpeed, you may relie upon me in it.

I have tranſmitted the Book of Common-Prayer, with thoſe Alterations and Additions, which have been preſented to me by the Houſe of Convocation, to the Houſe of Peers with my Approbation, that the Act of Uniformity may relate to it, ſo that I preſume it will ſhortly be diſpatched there: And when all is done we can, the well ſetling that Affair will require great Prudence and diſcretion, and the Abſence of all Paſſion and Precipitation.

The Act of Uniformity being ſetled and paſſed his Majeſty did not give over all his thoughts for the Diſſenters, but in the year 1662. was again labouring to revive his Declaration from *Breda* for Liberty of Conſcience; which the Houſe of Commons oppoſed, and drew up their reaſons againſt it, in the form of an Addreſs, wherein they particularly anſwer the pretences from the Declaration from *Breda*. Which tho the whole Addreſs is in the third part of the Addreſs to the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation I will here tranſcribe, becauſe this Book may poſſibly fall into ſome hands which have not that.

By a Declaration publiſhed *December* 26. 1662. in which are theſe words:

We ſhall make it our ſpecial care, ſo far forth as in us lies, without invading the freedom of Parliament, to incline them to make ſuch an Act, &c.

"We

Friday *Feb.* 27. 1663 Collection of Meſſages, Addreſſes, &c. *Pag.* 6.

"We have conſidered the nature of your Majeſties Declaration from *Breda*, and are humbly of opinion, that your Majeſty ought not to be preſſed with it any further.

"BECAUSE it is not a Promiſe in it ſelf, but only a Gracious Declaration of your Majeſties Intentions to do what in you lay, and what a Parliament ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to do; And no ſuch adviſe was ever given, or thought fit to be offered, nor could it be otherwiſe underſtood, becauſe there were Laws of Uniformity then in being, which could not be diſpenſed with but by Act of Parliament. They who do pretend a right to that ſuppoſed Promiſe, put their Right into the hands of their Repreſentatives, whom they choſe to ſerve in this Parliament for them, who have paſſed, and your Majeſty conſented to the Act of Uniformity; if any ſhall preſume to ſay, that a right to the benefit of this Declaration doth ſtill remain after this Act paſſed; it tends to diſſolve the very bonds of Government, and to ſuppoſe a diſability in your Majeſty, and your two Houſes of Parliament, to make a Law contrary to any part of your Majeſties Declaration, though both Houſes ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to it.

"Yet ſtill his Majeſty was ſo tender of theſe men, that the tenth of *February* 1667. the Commons addreſſed to the King for a Proclamation to enforce obedience to the Laws in force, concerning Religion and Church Government as it is now eſtabliſhed, according to the Act of Uniformity. And the fourth of *March* following, the Houſe taking into conſideration the Information of the Inſolent carriages and abuſes committed by perſons in ſeveral places, in diſturbing of Miniſters in their Churches, and holding Meetings of their own, contrary to the Laws of this Realm; Addreſſed again, for a Proclamation againſt Conventicles, and that there may be care

"taken

"taken for the preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom "againſt unlawful Aſſemblies of Papiſts and Noncon- "formiſts; which was promiſed the next day. The third "of *November* 1669. the Houſe of Commons gave his Ma- "jeſty thanks for iſſuing a Proclamation for putting the "Laws in execution againſt Nonconformiſts, and for ſup- "preſſing Conventicles with the humble deſire of this "Houſe for his Majeſties continuance of the ſame care for "ſuppreſſing of the ſame for the future.

"The Eighth of *March* 1669. the Houſe having received "information of a dangerous and unlawful Conventicle "lately met in the Weſt of this Kingdom, and of Trea- "ſonable words there ſpoken, and that his Majeſty had "upon information, given order for the Proſecution of the "Offenders. The Houſe returned him their Thanks, and "deſired that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to conſider the "danger of Conventicles in and near *London* and *Weſtmin- "ſter*, from the nature of thoſe further off, and to give "order for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of them: and that his "Majeſty would give order to put the Laws againſt Popiſh "Recuſants in execution.

Yet after all this, the Fifteenth of *March* 167$\frac{1}{2}$. his Majeſty publiſhed a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience by the Advice of his Privy Council; which he was hardly perſuaded to depart from by the Commons in *Feb.* 1672. The miſchiefs of which Toleration or Indulgence have been ſo great to his Majeſty in particular, and the whole Nation in general, that no man can well expreſs them.

See the firſt part of the Addreſs to the Freemen, &c.

And now who can enough admire the Inſolence of this diſcontented Gentleman, who dare ſay as he doth, *That if the ſame diligence, the ſame earneſt ſolicitations had been made uſe of in that affair, which have ſince been exerciſed directly contrary to the deſign of it, there is no doubt but every part of it would have had the deſired ſucceſs, and all his Majeſties*

Majeſties Subjects would have enjoyed the fruits of it, and have now been extolling a Prince ſo careful to keep ſacred his Promiſes to his People.

I ſay on the contrary, could his Majeſty have been prevailed on by the unanſwerable reaſons of that moſt Excellent and moſt Loyal Houſe of Commons, to have enforced the execution of the Laws againſt Diſſenters, he had never ſeen his Affairs reduced to that ill condition they were not long ſince in. And tho I queſtion not but by Gods bleſſing his Majeſty will in a ſhort time reſettle things, yet I will hope for time to come it ſhall be a Maxim in *England, That the Strength of the Diſſenters is the Weakneſs of the Throne.*

As for our Authors jeering reflection on his Majeſties other Declaration of *April* 20. 1679. concerning the Privy Council, and ſome perſons then taken into it, his Majeſty hath had but too much reaſon not to ſtick to the ſame when he ſee there were ſome men whom nothing could oblige to be faithful to him; but if his Majeſty hath not adviſed with them; he hath with ſome others, at leaſt as wiſe, and much honeſter than ſome of thoſe who were laid aſide, ſo that that Declaration hath been effectually made good to the Nation. And therefore we have no reaſon to queſtion his Majeſties Candor in this.

Pag. 7. *As for the Declaration read in our Churches the other day, there needs no other Argument to make us doubt of the reality of the Promiſes which it makes, than to conſider how partially, and with how little ſincerity the things which it pretends to relate are therein repreſented, it begins with telling us in his Majeſties Name,* That it was with exceeding great trouble that he was brought to diſſolve the two laſt Parliaments without more benefit to the People by the calling of them. *We ſhould queſtion his Majeſties Wiſdom, did we not believe him to have underſtood that never Parliament had greater Opportunites of doing good to Himſelf and his People. He could*

could not but be ſenſible of the dangers, and of the neceſſities of his Kingdom, and therefore could not without exceeding great trouble be prevailed upon for the ſake of a few deſperate men (whom he thought himſelf concerned to love now, only becauſe he had loved them too well, and truſted them too much before;) not only to diſappoint the Hopes and Expectations of his own People, but of almoſt all Europe. *His Majeſty did indeed do his part, ſo far, in giving opportunities of proving for our good, as the calling of Parliaments do amount to, and it is to be imputed to the Miniſters only that the ſucceſs of them did not anſwer his and our Expectations.* providing

Thus far my Author is recited verbatim, that it may appear I do him no wrong. By which diſcourſe of his (taking for the preſent no notice of his reflection on his Majeſty for a perſon whoſe Promiſes were not real) it is agreed that the two laſt Parliaments had great opportunities of doing good to his Majeſty and his People, and my Author goes further, and adds the Hopes and Expectation of almoſt all *Europe* to them. That his Majeſty called theſe Parliaments he owns. That one of them ſat a competent time for that purpoſe cannot be denied, *viz.* from Thurſday *October* 21. 1680. till Monday the tenth day of *January* following, which deducting the time ſpent in the Trial of Viſcount *Stafford*, was in ſome mens opinions ſufficient to have diſpatched much more buſineſs than was then done. And yet it doth not appear that his Majeſty was enclined to have prorogued them then if he had not been highly provoked by them.

What my Author means by thoſe few deſperate men that prevailed upon his Majeſty ſo much againſt his Will to part with that Parliament, I cannot gueſs, except they be the Eminent Perſons which were declared Enemies to the King and Kingdom: which if they were, they are neither ſo few, nor ſuch deſperate men as to be laid aſide barely upon

a Vote of the Houſe of Commons, *without any Order or Proceſs of Law, any hearing of their Defence, or any proof ſo much as offered againſt them.* And I believe the meaneſt of them is equal to this Gentleman, as ſcornfully as he ſpeaks of them.

The Declaration.

But then in the laſt place, whether or no the diſſolution be to be imputed to the Miniſters, or to the Parliament, *i.e.* the Houſe of Commons will appear beſt in the examination of his diſcourſe, and of the Declaration.

Pag. 7. *It is certain* (ſaith my Author) *it cannot be imputed to any of the proceedings of either of thoſe Parliaments; which were compoſed of men of as good ſence and quality as any in the Nation, and proceeded with as great moderation, and managed their debates with as much temper, as ever was known in any Parliament.* If all this is as certainly true as it is confidently aſſerted, then is it but a folly to diſpute any further about it. But becauſe his Majeſty in his Declaration hath ſaid ſome things that ſeem to look another way, my Reader may, if he pleaſe, ſuſpend his belief of this particular too; till his Majeſties Allegations and this Gentlemans defence are examined, and then he will be better able to paſs his Judgment.

If they ſeemed to go too far in any thing, his Majeſties Speeches or Declarations had miſled them, by ſome of which they had been invited to enter into every one of thoſe debates to which ſo much exception hath been ſince taken. Did he not frequently recommend the proſecution of the Plot to them, with a ſtrict and impartial inquiry? Did he not tell them, That he neither thought himſelf nor them ſafe, till that matter was gone through with? Yes doubtleſs his Majeſty did all this; but then where is any exception taken againſt any thing of this Nature they have done?

Speech. Octob. 21. 1680.

Pag. 8. *Did he not in his Speech* April 30, 1679. *aſſure them that it was his conſtant care to ſecure our Religion for the future in all events; and that in all things which concerned the Publick*

Publick Security, He would not follow their Zeal, but lead it.
But, Sir, did not his Majeſty then alſo let you know that he excepted one thing, in which he would neither lead, nor follow their Zeal, which was the altering the deſcent of the Crown in the right Line, or defeating the Succeſſion, which his Majeſty commanded to be further explained by the Lord Chancellour, in ſuch manner that it appeared to the whole Nation that his Majeſty was reſolved to do any thing for the freeing his People from their fears of Popery but what might tend to the diſinheriting the Duke of *York*, or any other Lawful Succeſſor? Now * you, Sir, may remember that nothing but this would ſatisfie the Commons in either of the two laſt Parliaments, in which they were not miſled by any of his Majeſties Speeches or declarations, much leſs by this which was made of purpoſe to prevent the Bill before it was moved in the Houſe of Commons.

Addreſs to the Freemen and Freeholders, *Part* II. *pag.* 22.

* Though his Majeſty could not do that without acting contrary to his own judgment, ſtrengthened with the Opinion and Advice given by his Royal Grandfather, King *James* of bleſſed memory, to his Eldeſt Son Prince *Henry*, in theſe words: *But if God give you not Succeſſion, defraud never the neareſt by right, whatſoever conceit ye have of the perſon. For Kingdoms are ever at Gods diſpoſition, and in that caſe we are but live-rentars, lying no more in the Kings, nor Peoples hand to diſpoſſeſs the righteous Heir.* Baſil. Doron. 62. ult. Ed.

Has he not often wiſhed that he might be enabled to exerciſe a power of Diſpenſation in reference to thoſe Proteſtants, who through tenderneſs of miſguided Conſcience did not conform to the Ceremonies, Diſcipline, and Government of the Church: and promiſed that he would make it his ſpecial care to encline the wiſdom of the Parliament to concur with him in making an Act to that purpoſe? And did not that very Parliament draw up a long Addreſs to his Majeſty, containing the reaſons why they could not concur with him in that point? And is not this one good proof that his Majeſty was not unmindful of his Declaration at *Breda*, but was kept from doing what he was otherwiſe enclined enough to, not by a few deſperate men, but by the Parliament?

Pag. 8. Speech, *Octob.* 26. 1662.

Speech, *Decem.* 26. 1662.

Pag. 8. *And leaſt the malice of ill men,* (*i. e.* the Diſſenters) *might object, that theſe gracious inclinations of his continued no longer than while there was a poſſibility of giving the Papiſts equal benefit of a Toleration. Has not his Majeſty, ſince the diſcovery of the Plot, ſince there was no hopes of getting ſo much as a connivance for them in his Speech of* March 6. 167⅘. *expreſs'd his zeal not only for the Proteſtant Religion in general, but for an Union amongſt all ſorts of Proteſtants.* His Majeſties words here are not truly recited, but are theſe: *I meet you here with the moſt earneſt deſire that man can have to unite the minds of all my Subjects both to me and to one another, and I reſolve it ſhall be your faults if the ſucceſs be not ſuitable to my deſires,* &c. And a little after; *Beſides that end of Union which I aim at* (*and which I wiſh could be extended to Proteſtants abroad as well as at home*) *I propoſe by this laſt great ſtep I have made* (the ſending away his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*) *to diſcern whether Proteſtant Religion and the peace of the Kingdom be as truly aimed at by others as they are really intended by me,* &c. By which it appears the Union his Majeſty here meant was not that Union that was afterwards ſet on foot in Parliament, and I cannot but ſuſpect theſe words were miſrecited of purpoſe.

Pag. 8. *And did not he comand my Lord Chancellour to tell them, That it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between Popiſh and other Recuſants, between them that would deſtroy the whole flock, and them that only wander from it.* Theſe words are indeed in the Lord Chancellors Speech but with this Preface, *Neither is there, nor hath been theſe fifteen hundred years, a purer Church than ours, ſo 'tis for the ſake of this poor Church alone that the State hath been ſo much diſturbed. It is her Truth and Peace, her Decency and Order which they* (the Plotters and Papiſts) *labour to undermine, and purſue with ſo reſtleſs a malice; and ſince they do ſo, it will be neceſſary for us to diſtinguiſh between Popiſh and other Recuſants, between them*

Speech, *Mar.* 6 167⅘.

them that would deſtroy the whole Flock, and them that only wander from it. So that whatever diſtinction his Majeſty intended to allow between the Popiſh and Proteſtant Recuſants, it muſt be ſuch as was conſiſtent with the Truth, Peace, Decency, and Order of the Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, which I ſuſpect the Project of Union ſet on foot was not, much leſs the Vote of the tenth of *January* for the ſuſpending the execution of all Penal Laws made againſt them, *as a weakening of the Proteſtant Intereſt, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.*

Theſe things conſidered, we ſhould not think the Parliament went too far, but rather that they did not follow his Majeſties Zeal with an equal pace. At this rate of concluding a man may draw any Concluſion from any premiſes if he hath a mind to it. His Majeſty would joyn with them in any courſe that might tend to the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion for the future, *ſo as the ſame extend not to the diminution of his own Prerogative, nor to alter the deſcent of the Crown in the right Line, nor to defeat the Succeſſion.* Therefore when they brought in a Bill to diſinherit his Majeſties Brother againſt his expreſly declared reſolution, they did not go too far, but rather they did not follow his Majeſties Zeal with an equal pace. When his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh betwixt Popiſh Recuſants, and Proteſtant Diſſenters; that is, to favour the latter more than the former, they were for taking away all thoſe Laws at once that have diſtinguiſhed betwixt the Diſſenters and the Religion eſtabliſhed, and giving up this Pure Church into the hands of her bitter Enemies, that had but juſt before bid fair for her ruine; as if the only care had been, that the Papiſts might not have had the honour of deſtroying her, and yet we are not to believe they went too far in this neither.

Pag. 8.

Lord Chancellors Speech, *March* 6. 167$\frac{3}{4}$.

Pag. 9. *The truth is, if we observe the daily provocations of the Popish Faction, whose rage and insolence were only increased by the discovery of the Plot, (so that they seemed to defie Parliaments, as well as inferiour Courts of Justice, under the Protection of the Duke, their Publickly Avowed Head;) who still carried on their designs by new and more detestable methods than ever, and were continually busie by Perjuries and Subornations, to charge the best and most considerable Protestants in the Kingdom with Treasons as black as those of which themselves were guilty. If we observe what vile Arts were used to hinder the further discovery, what liberty was given to reproach the Discoverers, what means used to destroy or corrupt them; how the very Criminals were incouraged and allowed to be good Witnesses against their Accusers: We should easily excuse an English Parliament thus beset, if they had been carried to some little Excesses not justifiable by the Laws of Parliament, or unbecoming the wisdom and gravity of an English Senate.*

Now other men may possibly be of another mind, and think that if the state of things had been but half so deplorable as they are here described, the least Excess had been then inexcusable, for there is never more need of gravity than in great and eminent dangers; but what I shall say will, it is like, not be much regarded, hear then what the Chancellour of *England* said: *The Considerations which are now to be laid before you are as Urgent and as Weighty as were ever yet offered to any Parliament, or indeed ever can be, so great and so surprizing have been our Dangers at home, so formidable are the appearances of danger from abroad, that the most United Counsels, the most Sedate and the calmest Temper, together with the most dutiful and zealous affections that a Parliament can shew, are all become absolutely and indispensably necessary for our preservation.* So that little excesses are great crimes; when men are beset with dangers tho they may be excused in times of Peace and Securi-

Speech *Mar.* 6. 167$\frac{1}{2}$.

Security, if I rightly underſtand this wiſe and honourable perſon.

But if we come to ſearch into the particulars here enumerated, there may poſſibly ariſe better Arguments to excuſe their Exceſſes. The Popiſh Faction about that time having tried all other ways to clear themſelves of the Plot, without any good ſucceſs, fell at laſt upon another Project, which was to ſtart a New Plot. They knew there were in *London* ſome Clubbs, and Coffee-houſe-Sets, of Presbyterians, Old Army Officers, diſcontented Gentlemen, and Republicans, which had cloſe Cabals, and private Meetings, and that the Court had a jealous eye upon them, as indeed there was good cauſe for it, and out of theſe materials they thought they might eaſily raiſe the ſtructure of a Presbyterian Plot againſt the State, but all the chief men of the Popiſh Faction being fled, impriſoned, or executed, this grand Deſign fell into the hands of people of no great either parts or reputation, to carry on ſo difficult an Undertaking, and it was not likely neither to be eaſily believed if it had no other Witneſſes but Papiſts to atteſt it. And it was not poſſible for them to bring over any other, of any reputation, in the low eſtate their affairs then were, ſo that the Contrivance miſcarried, and only tended to make the Papiſts more hated than they were before, and this is called the Meal-Tub Plot; which I ſhould rather have aſcribed to the rage and deſperation of the Papiſts, than to their Inſolence, which was then very well abated by the Execution of *Coleman*, *Staley*, the Murtherers of Sir *Edmundbury Godfry*, and the Jeſuits, which had reduced them to too low a condition to defie the meaneſt Courts of Juſtice in the Nation, and put them upon thoſe mean and baſe thoughts of Perjuries and Subornations, to avoid that ruine which they ſaw ready to overwhelm and deſtroy them.

But that which they were never able to effect themſelves the Diſſenters did for them, for from the moment the Popiſh Plot was diſcovered they entered into a project to make uſe of it another way againſt the King and Court on one hand, and againſt the Church and the Loyal Gentry on the other.

In order to this they had theſe cloſe Cabals, and private Meetings, (I laſt mentioned) where they invented and ſpread abroad a thouſand idle Stories to fright the Common People out of their little Wits; and alſo raiſed Money, which they liberally beſtowed amongſt the Informers to render them more obſequious to them, ſo that in a ſhort time Informing became a very thriving trade, if it would have held; and this great familiarity betwixt the diſcoverers of the Plot and the Whigs was the beſt colour afterwards for the Meal-Tub Presbyterian Plot.

By this means the People were eaſily deluded into a conceit that theſe Gentlemen who took ſuch care of the Diſcoverers, and their Party, who were always haranguing againſt Popery, were the only Proteſtants in the Nation that could ſave them out of the hands of the Papiſts. And on the other ſide, the Court and all the Loyal Gentry and Clergy became ſuſpected of want of zeal againſt Popery; and this was heightned by the Diſcoverers themſelves, who were for the moſt part men of no very great or good qualities, and were ſo puffed up by the flatteries and Liberalities of the Whigs, and their own high conceits of the Service they had done the Nation, that they thought no recompence, no reſpect which was beſtowed upon them was great enough, and ſo became inſolent both in their carriage and diſcourſes, by which means they became leſs reſpected rhan before, till at laſt they were forced to give themſelves up intirely to the Whigs.

This had two very different effects upon ſeveral ſorts of men, ſome believed that there was no Popiſh Plot, after they

they ſaw the Diſſenters reap all the advantage by it. And others thought that all but the Diſſenters were more or leſs concerned in the guilt of it as well as the Papiſts, or at leaſt were favourers of the Papiſts and Popery.

Things being in this ſtate, eſpecially after the diſſolution of the Long Loyal Parliament, the Diſcoverers loſt much of their reputation, but that ever any vile Arts were uſed to hinder any further diſcovery of the Plot by any but the Papiſts, or that liberty was given to reproach, or any means uſed to corrupt or deſtroy them that were the Witneſſes, except it were by Papiſts, doth not appear, and in all thoſe caſes, all the care in the world was taken of the Witneſſes too, by the King and his Council. And as to that which my Author mentions in the laſt place, How the very Criminals were incouraged and allowed to be good Witneſſes againſt their Accuſers, I cannot imagine what he means by it; or when, or where it ſhould be done, tho I have read over all the Printed Trials, and therefore it is enough to deny this, and put him upon the proof of it.

But how did all theſe things tend to the advantage of the Popiſh Plotters in the end?

Firſt, As the Zeal of theſe people fired the Rabble, ſo it put the Long Loyal Parliament too into ſo great a fret, that it proved mortal; and then going downward, it put the Country into ſuch diſorder, that tho his Majeſty hath given us the opportunities of chuſing three Parliaments one after another, we have not been able to ſend up one, that has not fallen into thoſe *little Exceſſes* which have occaſioned their diſſolution before they had done us any conſiderable good. And at length his Majeſty is forced for ſome time to keep us without one; to try if Faſting will bring us into our ſenſes again, and in the mean time the noiſe of the Popiſh Plot is drowned, by new and more ſurprizing attempts of the Whigs, and that Popiſh Party, which whilſt

it had none but real Papiſts in its Liſt, was the abomination of all Proteſtants, now the Whigs have joyned all the Church of *England* men to them by their lies and ſlanders, even that very Popiſh Party begin to be better thought of for their ſakes who are falſly joyned with them, and by theſe and many other ways the proſecution of the Popiſh Plot any further is thought by moſt men impoſſible. Whereas had not the Diſſenters been thus ſerviceable to them, there is reaſon to believe they would have ſuffered much more than they have done, and there would have been much ſharper Laws made againſt them, than they need fear now.

If all this be conſidered, it will eaſily appear, it was not the Protection of the Duke, whom this Gentleman can never prove the Publickly avowed Head of the Papiſts, but the over-doing of the buſineſs, that hath delivered the Popiſh Faction out of that fear and danger which the diſcovery of the Plot had caſt them into.

Pag. 9. *We muſt own* (ſaith my Author) *that his Majeſty has opened all his Parliaments at* Weſtminſter *with very Gracious Expreſſions, nor have we wanted that Evidence of his readineſs to ſatisfie the deſires of his Subjects, but that ſort of Evidence will ſoon loſe its force if it be never followed by Actions correſpondent; by which only the World can judge of the ſincerity of Expreſſions or Intentions.*

Had the two ſhort Parliaments at *Weſtminſter* been the only Parliaments his Majeſty had ever called ſince his return, there might have been ſome colour for this undutiful reflection, but all the World knows there were two there before them, and that his Majeſty complied with them in almoſt all they asked in a regular way, and when at any time he was neceſſitated to deny them any requeſt, he gave them ſuch reaſon for it, as they ſeemed to be well pleaſed with his denial.

It will appear to any man that his Majeſty hath paſſed more Acts in twenty years than any one of his Anceſtors have done in twice the time, that he hath abated more of his juſt and real Prerogative than any Prince we ever yet had could be brought to part with. The Court of Wards, and the Right of Purveyance, were great advantages to the Crown, and as troubleſom to the Subjects till his Majeſty generouſly gave them up, and theſe two Prerogatives were never Conteſted, and I might inſtance in ſome other if I did not think it fit to be as ſhort as I can.

In almoſt twenty years that the Long Loyal Parliament ſate, I never heard of above one Bill that had paſſed both Houſes, which was denied his Royal Aſſent, and that was, *The Bill for preſerving the peace of the Kingdom by raiſing the Militia, and continuing them in duty for two and forty days; which Bill was refuſed* November 30. 1678. *and then alſo his Majeſty gave this reaſon for it: That he did not refuſe to paſs it for the diſlike of the matter, but the manner, becauſe it put the Militia for ſo many days out of his power, and if it had been but for half an hour he would not have conſented to it, becauſe of the ill conſequences it might have hereafter, the Militia being wholly in the Crown,*&c. Now I believe it would be difficult for my Author to make and prove the like inſtance, in any of our former Princes.

And in the firſt of the ſhort *Weſtminſter* Parliaments his Majeſty paſſed the Act for the better ſecuring of the Liberty of the Subject, and for preventing impriſonment beyond Seas, to which an honourable Perſon adds, *The Act againſt quartering of Souldiers upon the Subject, and ſaith, his Majeſty might have had many Millions for theſe Acts if he had inſiſted on a bargain, or known how to diſtinguiſh between his own private Intereſt and that of the Subject, or the truckling way of Bartering when the good of his People was concerned.* A ſeaſonable Addreſs to both Houſes of Parliament, *pag.* 4.

And in the laſt ſhort-lived *Weſtminſter* Parliament his Majeſty paſſed the Act againſt Importation of Iriſh Cattel, for no other viſible cauſe, but becauſe both Houſes had paſſed it, tho it tended to the Diminution of his Revenue. And now let us ſee how gratefully our Author treats him for all theſe Royal and Prince-like Favours.

Pag. 9. *Therefore the Favorites did little conſult his Majeſties Honour when they bring him in ſolemnly declaring to his Subjects, that his intentions were as far as would have conſiſted with the very Being of the Government, to have complied with any thing that could have been propoſed to him to accompliſh thoſe Ends he had mentioned, which were the ſatisfying the deſires of his Subjects, and ſecuring them againſt all their juſt fears, when they are not able to produce an inſtance wherein they ſuffered him to comply in any one thing. Whatever the Houſe of Commons Addreſſed for, was certainly denied, tho it was only for that reaſon; and there was no ſurer way of Intituling ones ſelf to the favour of the Court, than to receive a Cenſure from the repreſentative body of the People.*

As to the Addreſſes made by the Houſe of Commons alone, they were many of them ſuch as his Majeſty could not comply with without great miſchief to himſelf or them that had expreſt the greateſt Zeal for his Service, and when for that caſe only they ſeemed to be perſecuted, it would have been very impolitick in his Majeſty, tho he had been his own man, and not under the dominion of the Favorites (as it ſeems he was) to have yielded to the Commons againſt them.

But cannot the Favorites inſtance wherein they ſuffered his Majeſty to comply in any one thing with the Houſe of Commons? Did not his Majeſty at their ſingle requeſt Pardon a great many Informers againſt the Plotters? Did he not pardon *B. Harris* too, his 500 *l.* Fine and Impriſonment which he had incurred by Printing diſloyal and ſeditious Pamphlets?

Pamphlets? Did not his Majeſty upon their Addreſs diſcharge all the Proteſtant Diſſenters who were then under proſecution upon ſeveral Penal Statutes, without paying Fees, as far as it could be done according to Law, and promiſe alſo to recommend them to the Judges? There might many other inſtances be given, of moneys iſſued out, of perſons taken care for, and the like upon the ſingle requeſt of the Commons, ſo that I cannot but wonder where my Authors modeſty was when he preſſed the Favorites to give one inſtance of his Majeſties compliance with the Houſe of Commons.

But his Majeſty and the Court were kind to all that received any Cenſure from the repreſentative body of the People. They might thank themſelves for that who beſtowed their Cenſures ſo freely on men that had deſerved very well of his Majeſty and the Government, and yet I believe there may be ſome inſtances given of men whom they Cenſured or impriſoned, that have not been mightily advanced ſince by the Court, but let us examine thoſe few particular Examples my Author hath marked out.

Let it for the preſent be admitted (ſaith my Author) *that ſome of the things deſired by that Parliament were exorbitant, and* (*becauſe we will put the objection as ſtrong as is poſſible*) *inconſiſtent with the very being of the Government, yet at leaſt ſome of their Petitions were more reaſonable.* Pag. 10.

Doubtleſs there was ſome ſuch, which therefore were freely granted by his Majeſty, as I have proved.

The Government might have ſubſiſted though the Gentlemen put out of the Commiſſion of the Peace for their zealous acting againſt the Papiſts had been reſtored. Pag. 10.

And ſo might the Proteſtant Religion by Law eſtabliſhed be preſerved without the aſſiſtance of theſe zealous Gentlemen, and therefore his Majeſty was not to be inſtructed by theſe Repreſentatives, whom he ſhould imploy as Juſtices of

of the Peace, especially after they had discovered so much kindness for the Dissenters, who have something an odd Notion of Papists and Popery.

Pag. 10. *Nor would a final Dissolution of all things have ensued, tho Sir* George Jefferies *had been removed out of all Publick Offices, or my Lord* Hallifax *himself from his Majesties Presence and Councils.*

The first of these, Sir *George Jefferies* was then Recorder of *London*, and was prosecuted by a part of the City, for that he by traducing and obstructing Petitioning for the sitting of that Parliament, had betrayed the Rights of the Subject. Now that Gentleman opposed them (as many others did) in obedience to his Majesties Proclamation, and the Laws of the Land; and it was a little unreasonable that his Majesty should joyn with the Commons to ruine him, though it could be made out that his Majesties Proclamation was illegal, and that there were a mistake also in the point of Law.

Votes. *Nov.* 13. 1680.

My Lord *Hallifax* was prosecuted only for opposing the Bill for disinheriting the Duke of *York* in the House of Lords, and no fault whatsoever laid to his charge. Now he being a Member of that House, it had been very unreasonable for his Majesty to have punished him for using his own just and legal freedom, in a case especially wherein his Majesty had declared his own resolution so very often before.

Now, Sir, tho these two Persons are not essentially necessary to the preservation of the Government, yet it is absolutely so, that his Majesty do not give up those that have faithfully and legally served him in their proper Stations, either to please the People or their Representatives, without a legal trial, and a just defence. We may all remember what the Consequences of his Majesties Fathers giving up the Earl of *Strafford* in the beginning of the late troubles were; and I hope I shall never live to see that sort of compliance reacted again.

Had

Had the Statute of 35. Eliz. *(which had juſtly ſlept for Eighty years, and of late, unreaſonably * revived) been repealed, ſurely the Government might ſtill have been ſafe. And though the Fanaticks perhaps had not deſerved ſo well as that in favour to them, his Majeſty ſhould have paſſed that Bill, yet ſince the Repeal might hereafter be of great uſe to thoſe of the Church of* England, *in caſe of a Popiſh Succeſſor, (which Bleſſing his Majeſty ſeems reſolved to bequeath to his People) one would have thought he might have complied with the Parliament in that Propoſal.* Pag. 10.

* 16 Car. 2. c. 4.

It is very probable his Majeſty would have complied with them in that particular, tho it is paſt a perhaps the Fanaticks had not, nor ever will as long as they continue ſuch, deſerve that favour at his hands: But, modeſt Sir, how doth it appear that his Majeſty is reſolved to bequeath his People the Bleſſing of a Popiſh Succeſſor? Hath he promiſed the Duke to die before him? Hath his Majeſty obliged him to continue a Papiſt (if he be one) in ſpight of his Intereſt to the contrary? Is this your Juſtice? Is this your Modeſty?

But the Miniſters thought they had not ſufficiently triumphed over the Parliament by getting the Bill rejected unleſs it were done in ſuch a manner as that the precedent might be more pernicious to Poſterity, by introducing a new Negative in the making of Laws, than the loſing the Bill, how uſeful ſoever, could be to the preſent Age. Pag. 10.

That this Bill was not tendered to his Majeſty for his Aſſent appears by three Votes of the Commons at *Oxford.*

The Houſe then according to their order (the day before) took into conſideration the matter relating to the Bill which paſſed both Houſes in the laſt Parliament, entituled, An Act for the repeal of a Statute made in the 35 *year of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *but was not tendered to his Majeſty for his Royal Aſſent.* Friday, March 25. 1681.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, that a Meſſage be ſent to the Lords, deſiring a Conference with their Lordſhips in matters relating to the conſtitution of Parliaments, in paſſing Bills.

Ordered that a Committee be appointed to conſider of, and prepare the ſubject matter to be offered at the ſaid Conference.

Thus far that Parliament went in order to the diſcovery of the cauſe of the not tendering that Bill, and I have heard the Lords alſo were upon an inquiry what was become of it, but the diſſolution preventing them, I never heard that there was any diſcovery made then or ſince of the perſon or perſons that took it away.

Now where my Author had his intelligence that the Miniſters took it away to introduce a new Negative in the making of Laws, I ſhall not inquire.

Pag. 10. *This we may affirm, That if the ſucceſs of this Parliament did not anſwer expectation, whoever was guilty of it, the Houſe of Commons did not fail in doing their part. Never did men husband their time to more advantage. They opened the Eyes of the Nation, they ſhewed them their danger, with a freedom becoming Engliſh men.*

It was a Caution given by Queen *Elizabeth* in the end of a Parliament held in the 35th year of her Reign: *That ſhe would not have the People feared with reports of great dangers, but rather encouraged with boldneſs againſt the Enemies of the State,* And what the effect of our new Politicks was once before we well remember.

Hiſtorical Collect. of the four laſt Parliaments of Q. Eliz. p. 47.

They Aſſerted the Peoples right of Petitioning.

Yes, that they did too very effectually. Tho there was an Act of Parliament then in force, with this Preface.

13 Car. 2. ca. 5. **Whereas it hath been found by ſad experience that tumultuous and other diſorderly ſoliciting, and procuring of hands by private perſons to Petitions, Complaints, Remonſtrances, and Declarations, and other Addreſſes to the King, or both or either Houſes**

Houſes of Parliament, for alteration of Matters Eſtabliſhed by Law, redreſs of pretended Grievances in Church or State, OR OTHER PUBLICK CONCERNMENTS, have been made uſe of, to ſerve the Ends of factious and ſeditious perſons gotten into power, to the violation of the Publick Peace, and have been great means of the late unhappy Wars, Confuſions, and Calamities of this Nation, &c.

They Proceeded vigorouſly againſt the Conſpirators diſcovered, and heartily endeavoured to take away the very * *Root of the Conſpiracy. They had before them as many great and uſeful Bills as had been ſeen in any Parliament, and it is not to be laid at their doors that they proved abortive. This Age will never fail to give them their grateful Acknowledgments, And Poſterity will remember that Houſe of Commons with honour.* Pag. 10.

* By the Bill to diſinherit his Royal Highneſs.

Jamque opus exegit: quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.
Nomenque erit indelebile veſtrum.

And now the work is ended, which *Jove*'s rage,
Nor fire, nor Sword ſhall raſe, nor eating Age,
And their immortal name ſhall never die.

We come now to the particular enumeration of thoſe gracious things which were ſaid to the Parliament at Weſtminſter. *His Majeſty ask'd of them the ſupporting the Alliances he had made for the preſervation of the General Peace in Chriſtendom. It is to be wiſhed his Majeſty had added to his gracious asking of Money a gracious Communication of thoſe Alliances, that ſuch blind obedience had not been exacted from them as to contribute to the ſupport of they knew not what themſelves, nor before they had conſidered whether thoſe Alliances which were made, were truly deſigned for that End* Pag. 11.

which was Pretended (very dutifully ſaid) *or any way likely to prove effectual to it, ſince no precedent can be ſhewn, that ever a Parliament* (*not even the late Long Parliament, tho filled with* Danby *his Penſioners*) *did give money for maintaining any Leagues till they were firſt made acquainted with the particulars of them.*

That Leagues have been communicated to Parliaments heretofore is not to be diſputed, but that they were ever tendered before they were asked for, is not ſo plain; Nor doth it appear this was denied. And as to his Parentheſis I deſire only that it may be obſerved for my excuſe, in caſe I happen to ſpeak any thing not reſpective enough of the renowned Parliament at *Weſtminſter.*

Pag. 11. *But beſides this, the Parliament had reaſon to conſider well of the general Peace it ſelf, and the influence it might have, and had, upon our Affairs, before they came to any reſolution, or ſo much as a debate about preſerving it; ſince ſo wiſe a Miniſter as my Lord Chancellor* (bleſſed be God we have one wiſe Miniſter, they have all along hitherto in general terms been treated at ſuch a rate as if none of them had had either Wit or Honeſty) *had ſo lately told us, that it was fitter for meditation than diſcourſe. He informed us in the ſame Speech, that the Peace then was but the effect of Deſpair in the Confederates, and we have ſince learnt by whoſe means they were reduced to that Deſpair, and what price was demanded of the French King for ſo great a Service.*

Lord Chancellors Speech. *May* 23. 1678. The words are theſe: *The influence ſuch a Peace will have upon our Affairs are fitter for Meditation than Diſcourſe.* ——*Therefore it will import us to ſtrengthen our ſelves at home and abroad, that it may not be found a cheap or eaſie thing to put an Affront upon us.*

It is an old Maxim, That men ſhould neither deliberate nor debate about thoſe things that are not in their power. Now, whatever this General Peace was, and whatever the effects of it might be, the right of Peace and War was in the King, and the Commons could not alter one tittle of it: And a ſmall degree of experience in the World will

tell

tell any man, that *England* was not then in a condition to break alone with that Monarch, which had tired out all Chriſtendom with a tedious expenſive War, when they were united againſt him: And therefore the beſt Expedient that could then have fallen into the Heads of the Commons had been to have ſhewn him, and all the Confederates, that we were reſolved to have ſtood by our King with our Lives and Fortunes, which would have heartned them on to a ſtout reſiſtance in caſe of his further encroachments upon them, and in likelihood have kept him in ſome aw; whereas the courſe that was taken had a quite contrary effect, and tended more a thouſand times to the diſcouragement of the Confederates than the fruitleſs attempt he hints at, made by the Earl of *Danby*, who was then in the Tower for it. So that I believe all *Europe* will bear me Witneſs, that all the great things the French King hath ſince done were in a great meaſure owing to the * diſorders of our Engliſh Parliaments, and their declared reſolution of giving the King no Supplies upon reaſonable terms, which rendered the Alliance and Enmity of our King abroad inconſiderable.

*Dr. *Nalſon* obſerves, that the like diſorders had the ſame effect in the time of His Majeſties Father, who (he ſaith by this means) loſt the opportunity of being able to ſupport his Friends and Allies, as alſo that Honour and Terrour among his Enemies Abroad, which the Union and hearty Affections of his Parliament, would have rendred great and dreadful, but now he became mean and contemptible; that Prince who hath not power over his own Subjects at home being in no probable capacity of doing any great matters abroad. *Preface to his Impartial Collection.* Pag. 61.

Amongſt the great things the French King hath done ſince the Peace, my Author tells us this: *His Penſioners at our Court have grown inſolent upon it, and preſumed that now He* (the French King) *may be at leiſure to aſſiſt them* (the Penſioners) *in ruining* England, *and the Proteſtant Religion together.* (*And they*) *have ſhaken off all dread of Parliaments, and have prevailed with his Majeſty to uſe them with as little reſpect, and to diſperſe them with as great contempt,* Pag. 11.

as if they had been a Conventicle, and not the great Repreſentative of the Nation, whoſe Power and Wiſdom only could ſave him and us in our preſent Exigencies.

Surely the man that talks thus contemptuouſly of his Majeſty and all the Miniſters, durſt have told us, if he could, who were theſe French Pentioners, but it was not his deſign to point out the men; but to caſt out general Accuſations againſt the King, the Miniſters, and the whole Government, thereby to incenſe the People, and to make them ungovernable, that ſo his Majeſty might be the ſooner neceſſitated to ſubmit himſelf to that *Power and Wiſdom that could only ſave him and us*, but might alſo eaſily ruine both, if things were once put into ſuch a ſtate, as his Majeſty were no longer Maſter of that Power.

As to the Accuſation, or rather Calumny, that the Engliſh Miniſters are Penſioners to the French King, it will eaſily appear falſe to any man that doth but reflect on *Colemans* Letters, in 1674. when the King was in a much better condition to oppoſe and ruine the French deſigns and enterprizes, and the French King had all the Confederates United, and in an Actual War with him, and there was nothing to fear or hope for but in *England*, yet he then refuſed three hundred thouſand Pounds, tho it was pretended it would have aſſured the Diſſolution of that long Loyal Parliament, which *France* feared more than threeſcore ſuch as have followed it; and when at laſt *Coleman* deſcended to 200000 *l.* and at one time begged ſhamefully but for 20000 *l.* *He was denied it, Monſieur* Rouvigni, *the French Embaſſadour, uſually telling him, That if he could be ſure of ſucceeding in that deſign his Maſter would give a much larger Sum; but that he was not in a condition to throw away money upon uncertainties*, Nor doth it appear that ever *Coleman* got one farthing at that time.

Colemans long Letter.

And after the diſcovery of the Plot, and the diſſolution of the long Loyal Parliament, the general Peace having delivered

delivered the French King from all Apprehenſions of good or hurt from *England*; His Majeſty having ſuch ill ſucceſs in the firſt ſhort *Weſtminſter* Parliament, and the Diviſions of *England* appearing more fully in the Election of the Second, and the year that paſſed betwixt that and its ſitting, (all which were as well known in *Paris* as in *London*) it is not to be doubted but he very well underſtood that there was then leſs reaſon to maintain Penſioners in *England* than before. So that we may conclude from that time there hath come but little French Money over into *England* for Penſions to any Party, *England* being thought in *France* ſo inconſiderable by reaſon of her Domeſtick Feuds, Fears, and incurable Jealouſies; that there is nothing to be feared or hoped from it; whereas Penſions are to be imployed in Potent and United States.

I do not deſign by this to prove that no French Penſioners are now maintained in *England*, but that they are few, and gain but little by it, and therefore it is ridiculous to conceive that all our Miniſters of State are ſuch, and that they ſhould be ſuch fools as to conſpire with *France* to ruine *England* for nothing, or that which is next to it. And it is as ſilly a ſuppoſition that the Privy Council, and the reſt of the Miniſters of State, who are not Penſioners, ſhould not diſcover thoſe that are, as ſoon as this diſcontented Gentleman.

There is a lewd and impoſſible conceit ſpread underhand about the Nation that the King himſelf is a Penſioner to *France*: and all that is pretended to juſtifie it, is only his being able to ſubſiſt ſo long without Parliamentary Supplies. Now, this I believe is not credited by any men of underſtanding, but yet there are many ſuch, who for ill ends ſpeak it in ſome companies, and will ſhake their heads, and ſhrug their ſhoulders, and look gravely in other companies, that they may ſeem to fear what they durſt not ſpeak.

Now,

Now, if what I have ſaid before be applied to this inſtance, it will appear more ridiculous; for that Penſion that may tempt a hungry Courtier, who is to raiſe a Family, would be rejected with ſcorn if it were tendered to a meaner Prince than ours is. And it is not to be thought that the French King, who is obſerved to be as ſparing of his Wealth, as prodigal of his Souldiers, would ever be at ſuch an Expence as to maintain our Court and his own; for fear the King ſhould unite with a Parliament that would be an Enemy to *France*; no, all knowing men underſtand how little he cares for *England* if it were quiet at home, but as now things ſtand he ſcorns it, as beneath his Conſideration.

Well, but if neither the Miniſters, nor his Majeſty are to be ſuſpected, who are? I will tell you that in the words of a more knowing man than I dare pretend to be.

A ſeaſonable Addreſs to the Parliament. pag. 6, 7.

Thoſe that roar moſt againſt French Councils and Meaſures; Under-hand-bargains, and Agreements, between both the Kings, know they belye their own Conſciences, and that the French have us in the laſt degree of Contempt. This the Earl of Danby *Printed in his own vindication, perhaps not ignorant that ſome of their Miniſters did in the year* 1677, *and* 78. *before the breaking forth of the Plot, declare, That Monſieur* L. *had greater intereſt, and more Friends in* England *than the Duke of* York; *that the King had need be on his guard, for he was in great danger of running the ſame riſque with his Father, when it was likewiſe inquired what intereſt amongſt the People two great Peers had, who have ſince the Plot been great Pillars of the Proteſtant Religion, tho neither was ever reputed to have any, were Miniſters and Adviſers in* 1670, *and* 71. *very good Friends to* France *and Popery, Enemies to the Triple Alliance, and to* Holland, *&c. It was alſo ſaid, That* 300000 *l. a year beſtowed in* Scotland *and* England, *among the Factious and Diſcontented, would better ſerve the Intereſt of* France, *than any Bargain they could drive*

drive with the Miniſters. Thus far that noble Pen hath diſcovered who are the French Penſioners, and Reaſon ſpeaks the ſame thing: For if it be the Intereſt of *France* to divide *England*, it is their Intereſt too, to do it as cheap as they can, and there is no doubt to be made of it but 10000 *l.* a year, divided amongſt the *London* Holders-forth, and the *Wallingfordians*, on no other condition but that they ſhould declaim ſtoutly againſt the King, the Court, the Miniſters, *France*, and Popery, (things which no money could make them forbear ſpeaking againſt) would more effectually engage them to go on in that courſe, than all the treaſures of *France* would the King and Miniſters to procure the Ruine of *England*, and the ſettlement of Popery; things which Nature and Education have taught them to abhor. And by this means *England* (as they might eaſily foreſee) would be ſo divided, that if a Civil War did not follow, yet at leaſt there would be no fear of its being in a condition to look abroad and ſuccour its Neighbours.

To theſe men is owing all that Contempt that hath fallen upon our Engliſh Parliaments both at home and beyond the Seas, who by putting the Houſe of Commons upon thoſe things that would diſguſt the King, and all the Gentry in the Nation, have done as much as they could to make them firſt feared, and then hated by almoſt one half of the Subjects, and tends as directly to the ruine of that ancient and excellent Conſtitution as the diſorders of the Tribunes of the People, did to the ruine of the Liberty of the *Romans*.

But alas if we look into the Speech made at the opening of the Parliament, we ſhall find no mention of any new Ally except the Spaniard, whoſe Affairs at that time, through the defects of their own Government, and the Treachery of our Miniſters, were reduced to ſo deſperate a ſtate, that he might well be a burthen to us, but there was little to be hoped from Pag. 12.

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a Friendſhip with him; unleſs by the name of a League to recommend our Miniſters to a New Parliament, and cozen Country Gentlemen of their Money.

Before I can anſwer this, I ought to Tranſcribe ſo much of his Majeſties Speech as concerns this buſineſs; which is as followeth:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The ſeveral Prorogations I have made, have been very advantageous to our Neighbours, and very uſeful to me; for I have employed that time in making and perfecting an Alliance with the Crown of Spain, *ſuitable to that which I had before with the States of the United Provinces, and they alſo had with* Spain, *conſiſting of mutual obligations of Succour and Defence.*

I have all the reaſon in the world to believe, that what was ſo much deſired by former Parliaments, muſt needs be very grateful to you now: For tho ſome perhaps may wiſh theſe Meaſures had been taken ſooner, yet no man can with reaſon think it is now too late; for they who deſire to make theſe Alliances, and they who deſire to break them, ſhew themſelves of another opinion.

And as theſe are the beſt Meaſures that could be taken for the ſafety of England, *and repoſe of Chriſtendom, ſo they cannot fail to attain their End, and to ſpread and improve themſelves further, if our Diviſions at home do not render our Friendſhip leſs conſiderable abroad.*

Now

Now all the Gentlemans Craft lay in the word *New*, there is no mention of any *New Ally*. No, but there is mention of an old one, double Confederated both with *Spain* and *England* to the ſame purpoſe, and theſe three States being thus United, as his Majeſty truly tells them, would in a little time draw in more if our Diviſions did not prevent it. Our Diviſions had that effect, and made the King a true Prophet againſt his will, and now all the blame is to be thrown upon the Miniſters, that is in reality upon the King.

Nay, our Miniſters (poor unfortunate men) muſt bear the reproach of Ruining not only *England*, but *Spain* too by their Treachery: but yet our kind Author doth not lay all that burthen upon their ſhoulders, but confeſſeth that their ill Governing had a part in it; but however it came to paſs, *Spain* was in ſo deſperate a ſtate then that it might be a burthen to *England*, but no ways beneficial. And yet before the end of this very Paragraph he is in a dreadful fear that *Spain* ſhould joyn with his Majeſties Succeſſor, and for the introduction of Popery make a War upon the People with all his Forces by Sea and Land. At this rambling rate does our Gentleman talk.

It cannot be denied but that the Affairs of *Spain* were very ill managed at that time, but then that was owing to the Minority of their King, the Factions in their Court, the Conteſts betwixt *Don John* and the Queen-Mother their Regent, and their two Parties, and it is not improbable the French King might have ſome few Penſioners in *Spain* as well as *England*; but yet that once moſt potent Kingdom was not ſunk to ſo low an Ebb of Fortune as to be only a burthen to its Allies, tho it had need of them, and ought by all the rules of Policy to have been ſo much the more carefully ſecured and ſupported by them, eſpecially by *England*.

And therefore our Country Gentlemen, who were too wiſe to be cozened of their money by the crafty Miniſters, will, I hope, not lay it to their charge too, that the Affairs of *Spain* have ever ſince viſibly declined, and the French King hath taken near as much from his Neighbours during the Peace, upon pretence of Dependencies by Proceſs, as he got in all the War by his Sword and potent Armies. For this ſeems in great part at leaſt, not ſo much owing to the *Treachery of our Miniſters*, as to the Tenacity and thriftineſs of theſe *Country Gentlemen, that were ſo ſhie of being cozened of their Money.*

Pag. 12. *But upon the peruſal of the League, it appears by the 3, 4, and 5. Articles, that it was like to create us troubles enough, for it engages us indefinitely to enter into all the quarrels of the Spaniards, tho they hapned in the* West Indies *or the* Philippine *Iſlands, or were drawn upon himſelf by his own injuſtice or cauſeleſs provocations.*

Whether my Author have been any more faithful in his account of this League, than he was of the Kings Speech I cannot ſay; becauſe it is not in my power to examine thoſe Articles. But his mentioning our obligation to aſſiſt *Spain* in the *Weſt-Indies* and *Philippine* Iſlands, where it is impoſſible, againſt the Duke of *Brandenburg*, and the King of *Portugal*, where it would be unjuſt, and againſt his Proteſtant Subjects oppreſt by him, as they were by his Grandfather *Philip*, are ſuch things would make a man ſuſpect his ſincerity a little; and the rather, becauſe his Majeſty tells us, *The League was ſuitable to that which he had before with the States of the United Provinces, and they alſo had with* Spain, *conſiſting of mutual obligations of Succour and Defence.*

Now, the account my Author gives of it is in part ſo impoſſible, and in the reſt ſo improbable, that no Mortal in his right Wits can believe that *Spain* ſhould deſire, or *England* grant, any ſuch things. And therefore if he had

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at all expected to have been believed, he ought to have Tranſcribed thoſe three Articles for a proof of what he had ſaid. And whereas he tells us, it engages us indefinitely to enter into all the quarrels of the *Spaniards*. That, if true, will bear a fair Conſtruction, and will no more oblige us to thoſe things he mentions (if they be not expreſs'd, (nay, I think I may ſay, if they be) in plain terms) than it will to help the King of *Spain* to deſtroy our ſelves, in caſe he ſhould happen to have a quarrel with us hereafter. For no League can bind any further than as it is juſt and poſſible.

Verba ſtrictius quam ſint proprietas, ſumenda erunt, ſi id neceſſarium erit ad vitandam iniquitatem, vel Abſurditatem, etſi non talis ſit neceſſitas, ſed manifeſta æquitas vel utilitas in reſtrictione, ſubſiſtendum erit intra arctiſſimos terminos proprietatis niſi Circumſtantiæ aliud ſuadeant. Grot. de jure Belli & Pacis, lib. 2. cap. 16. ſect. 12.

But that which concerns us yet nearer (ſaith my Author) Pag. 13. *in this League, is, that this obligation of Aſſiſtance was mutual, ſo that if a Diſturbance ſhould happen hereafter in* England *upon any attempt to change our Religion, or our Government, tho it was in the time of his Majeſties Succeſſors. The moſt Catholick King is obliged by this League, (which we are ſtill to believe was entered into, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, and the good of the Nation) to give aid to ſo pious a deſign, and to make War upon* (their Majeſties) *the* People *with all his Forces both by Land and Sea. And therefore it was no wonder that the Miniſters were not forward in ſhewing this League to the Parliament, who would have ſoon obſerved all theſe inconveniences, and have ſeen how little ſuch a League could contribute to the preſerving the General Peace, or to the ſecuring of* Flanders, *ſince the French King may within one months time poſſeſs himſelf of it, and we by our League are not obliged to ſend our Succours till three months after the Invaſion, ſo that they would upon the whole matter have been inclined to ſuſpect, that the main end of this League was only to ſerve for a handſom pretence to raiſe an Army in* England, *and if the* People *here ſhould grow diſcontented at it, and any little diſorders ſhould enſue;*

The Spaniard is thereby obliged to ſend over Forces to ſuppreſs them.

This is fraught with ſuch rare new Politicks, and he has taken ſuch care to make a Rebellion ſafe, whether it happens in his Majeſties time, or in his Succeſſors, eſpecially if it were in order to the preſervation of our Religion and Government, (and wo be to the man that begins one on any other pretence) that I thought fit to tranſcribe it intire.

But Sir, whatever the Spaniard hath promiſed, or the Miniſters intended againſt the People muſt needs come to nothing; for you know that his Affairs were lately, *through the defects of his own Government, and the Treachery of our Miniſters, reduced to ſo deſperate a ſtate, that he might well be a Burthen to us, but there was little to be hoped for from a friendſhip with him*; and therefore as little in haſt to be feared from his Forces too, if he ſhould be ſo Popiſhly inclined as to think it a Pious deſign to help the King to bring in Arbitrary Government, by the handſom pretence of an Army raiſed for his aſſiſtance: or that and Popery too in the time of his Majeſties Succeſſor, to which this Gentleman knows (no man better) the People have no Maw, tho the Miniſters have a filthy inclination, and therefore cunningly took care by their Treachery to reduce his Affairs (whoſe help they chiefly relied on) into that deſperate condition we lately ſee them in.

Well, but for all that he may recover ſome part of his ancient Power; yes, who doubts that, to hurt us, but not to help us. And now, no man can blame the Miniſters that they were not forward in ſhewing this League to the Parliament, who would doubtleſs have forthwith Addreſſed to the King againſt them, and uſhered it in with a Vote, *that they were all of them Promoters of Popery, and Spaniſh Counſels, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom.*

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By this League it ſeems the King was not obliged to ſend over any Succours till three months after an Invaſion, (tho it is as plain as the Noſe on a mans face) that the French King may in one months time poſſeſs himſelf of *Flanders*. He may however take longer time, if he pleaſe, for any care was taken here to prevent it, ſo that if his Majeſty had taken a little too long a time to ſend in his Aids (which all things conſidered few men will think he did) yet they that ſhould have backed him in it have taken a longer time, and therefore ought not to complain.

The next thing (ſaith my Author) *recommended to them was the further Examination of the Plot, and every one who have obſerved what has paſſed for more than two years together, cannot doubt but that this was ſincerely deſired by ſuch as are moſt in credit with his Majeſty. And then ſurely the Parliament deſerved not to be cenſured upon this account, ſince the Examination of ſo many new Witneſſes, the Trial of the Lord* Stafford, *the great preparations for the trial of the reſt of the Lords, and their diligent inquiry into the Horrid Iriſh Treaſons, ſhew that the Parliament wanted no diligence to purſue his Majeſties good intentions in that affair.* Pag. 13.

Now Sir, If they had but ſuſpended the Bill for diſinheriting the Duke of *York*, and their Votes that followed upon the throwing it out in the Lords Houſe, and could but have held their hands from ſending for their fellow-Subjects into Cuſtody, till they had diſpatched this great Affair, & tried all the other Lords in the Tower; it is thought by wiſer men than I, they might have had time enough to have gone through with this buſineſs, but ſome body tells us the *Plot was to be kept on foot, elſe they would be defeated.* It was to be uſed like the Holy War, always a doing, never done withal, till it made way for ſome other deſigns that would not go merrily without the noiſe of a Plot to drive them. Seaſonable Addreſs, p. 3.

When

Pag. 13. *When his Majeſty deſired from the Parliament their Advice and aſſiſtance concerning the Preſervation of* Tangier, *the Commons did not neglect to give it its due Conſideration, as appears by their Addreſſes of* November 29. *and* Decemb. 21. 1680. *and they told him, no better could be expected of a Town for the moſt part under Popiſh Governours; and always filled with a Popiſh Garriſon.*

Now this Gentleman might have done the World a kindneſs to have told us how the Popery of the Governours or Garriſon contributed any thing to the preſent Exigencies of that place, into which it fell, not by any neglect or Treachery, but by a Siege laid about it by a potent Army of Moors.

Pag. 13. *They promiſed to aſſiſt him in defence of it, as ſoon as ever they could be reaſonably ſecured, that any Supply which they gave for that purpoſe, ſhould not be uſed to augment the ſtrength of our Popiſh Adverſaries, and to encreaſe our dangers at home.*

All the reſt is of the ſame kind with this. But Sir, can you tell what was meant by a *reaſonable ſecurity*? Or wherein the ſtate of *England* would have been mended if *Tangier* had been loſt? Or can you give us any reaſon why this Parliament ſeemed reſolved to run the Riſque of loſing this Town, when the former Parliament had Voted ſo ſtoutly for the Annexing it to the Crown? I might perhaps go near to anſwer all theſe queſtions from the exact Collection of Debates which are Printed, but the ſafer and ſhorter way is to refer my Reader to them for his ſatisfaction.

April 7, and 9. 1678.

Pag. 14. *My Author owns that his Majeſty offered to concur in any Remedies that could be propoſed for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, but (ſaith he) he was pleaſed to go no further,* (how could he?) *for thoſe Remedies the Commons offered were rejected, and thoſe which they were preparing were prevented by a diſſolution.*

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What was rejected is well enough understood, *viz.* the Bill of Exclusion, and if the Association was what was preparing, it is no great wonder it should be prevented by a Dissolution. But for this we must be contented to remain in ignorance.

His Majesty had complained of Addresses in the name of Remonstrances rather than Answers. Now, here my Author cannot gues what the Ministers would have the word Remonstrance signifie; but he takes it to be a modest expressing the reasons of their resolution. Now, if this be the meaning of the Word, we must own his Majesty hath in this particular charged the Commons wrongfully, for there was seldom too much modesty joyned with their Reasons, but they rather to us poor Country Folk, seemed to have altogether lost that respect that was due to the Crown, as any body else would think that should compare their Addresses with those made in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, particularly that made to thank her for taking away a part only of the Monopolies that oppressed them in the 44. year of her Reign, when the Speaker and the whole House of Commons sate a good while on their knees to her, but our Gentlemen treated our King at quite another rate, and not much unlike those who remonstrated to his Majesties Father till they at last fairly brought him to the Block. Pag. 14. Hist. Col. of the four last Parliaments of Q. *Eliz.*

My Author considers in the next place that part of the Declaration which concerns the Arbitrary Orders for taking persons into custody, for matters that had no relation to Priviledges of Parliament, &c. *If* (saith he) *they* (the Ministers) *intended by these general words to reflect on the Orders made to take those degenerate Wretches into Custody who published under their hands Abhorrences of Parliaments, and of those who in humble and lawful manner petitioned for their sitting, in a time of such extreme necessity. Surely they are not in good earnest, they cannot believe* Pag. 15.

them:

themſelves, when they ſay, that theſe matters have no relation to Priviledges of Parliament, if the Priviledge of Parliament be concerned when an injury is done to any particular Member, how much more when men ſtrike at Parliaments themſelves, and endeavour to wound the Conſtitution?

But, Sir, I hope it is no breach of Priviledge of Parliament now to beg a ſmall favour at your Worſhips hands, and that is to produce but one inſtance of one ſingle man that ever publiſhed an Abhorrence of Parliaments in general, or of that Parliament in particular before it ſate. It ſeems mighty probable to me, that theſe Wretches were a part of them, and the rather, becauſe my Author is fain to miſrepreſent the whole matter of Fact to make it ſeem juſt. Now, Sir, all the queſtion was, whether the manner of Petitioning, then taken up by the Rabble, was lawful or humble? You ſay it was both, but, Sir, your Sentence is neither Concluding, nor yet infallible; and therefore we appeal from it to the next Loyal Parliament, which we hope ſome at leaſt of thoſe Degenerate Wretches may live to ſee, and in the mean time there will ever be ſome ready to abhor a Petition ſigned by 60000 Shop-Keepers, Apprentices, *&c.* humbly pretending to inſtruct the King and Council, in ſpight of a Proclamation to the contrary, when its fit a Parliament ſhould ſit; which ſome are ſuch fools as to imagine may be done again without abhorring Parliaments; and conſequently without breach of Priviledge of Parliament. And becauſe this was all that was done then, to the beſt of our remembrance, and as it is conceived may be made appear by thoſe very abhorrences ſtill extant, therefore it is humbly conceived the Impriſonments thereupon were Arbitrary and illegal.

As to thoſe two Perſons my Author names, of them that were taken into Cuſtody by Order of Parliament *Sheridon*, and *Thompſon*, I will raiſe no Conteſt with him,

him, becauſe their caſe will depend upon the general determination.

The King's Declaration lays down this as a Rule; that for the Houſe of Commons to take into Cuſtody any Subject, for matters that have no relation to priviledges of Parliament is Arbitrary, i.e. *Illegal.*

This the Author quarrels at, and by a very few Precedents endeavours to prove, *That the Houſe of Commons may order men to be taken into Cuſtody for matters not relating to priviledge.* Theſe two are directly contrary each to other, and I only deſire the liberty to enquire which of theſe ſeem likelieſt to be in the right.

The Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons are indeed our own, and they enjoy and ought to uſe them as our Truſtees, and for our good, and therefore it is folly in us to leſſen them when they are ſuch as are neceſſary: and it is a great injury in them to extend them beyond what they anciently were to the damage of the Crown; or of the Liberties of the Subjects, or on the other hand to abuſe thoſe they really have, and ought to enjoy, to our damage, or to the Detriment of the Kings Prerogative, which is as neceſſary for our preſervation as the Priviledges of Parliament themſelves are.

The Priviledges of Parliament are many, and relate either to the whole Body, the Three Eſtates taken Collectively, or to the Lords, or to the Commons.

Thoſe relating to the Commons reſpect either the King, or the Lords, or the reſt of the Subjects which are not Members of their Houſe, or the Members of their own Houſe.

Our Enquiry is only in this point concerning thoſe that relate to thoſe Subjects that are not Members of either Houſe, whether they may be impriſoned by Vote of the Commons for matters that have no relation to Priviledge of Parliament.

In the latter end of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* it was a queſtion whether the Commons could impriſon thoſe that were not Members of their own Houſe for matters that had a certain and apparent relation to the known Priviledges of Parliament, as for Arreſting them or their Servants in time of Parliament, which hath been ſince gained, and is no longer Conteſted by any body, but is a ſtrong Argument that they had not then that power the Author claims, and for which he brings the Precedents, which are indeed of a later date except one, and that was in the Minority of *Edward* the Sixth.

Proceedings of the four laſt Parliaments of Q. *Eliz. p.* 254. *Anno Regni* 44. it ſeems probable to me that this queſtion was then firſt reſolved, by the Arguments brought for it, which uſe not to be in plain caſes; and one Member oppoſed it, and another ſaid many were ſent for, but none appeared, none were puniſhed.

Cokes Inſtit. *part.* 4. of the proceedings in Parliament againſt abſents. *p.* 38.

Anciently if any man were impeached in Parliament, there was a Writ directed to the Sheriff to ſummon him to appear and Anſwer, as my Lord *Coke* acquaints us, and ſets down the form of the Writ; and upon the return of this Writ the Attachment it is likely went out of the Houſe of Lords, but of this Power of the Commons that great man ſpeaks not one word, which is a good Argument they had it not, and indeed the latter inſtances are all after his time.

It is not conſonant to reaſon that any Subject of *England* ſhould be impriſoned upon a bare ſuggeſtion without the Oath of the Accuſer: Now the Commons have no power to give an Oath in this caſe, and therefore it ſeems reaſonable that they ſhould not impriſon any man who is not a Member of their Houſe, much leſs whomſoever they pleaſe.

The Houſe of Commons is not a Court of Judicature, (except in matters of Priviledge and Elections) but all perſons accuſed in Parliament muſt be tried by the *Lords, therefore it is contrary to the Law of *England* that any man ſhould be impriſoned by the Commons,

* Owned by this Author. *p.* 39.

mons, who (*as the Grand-Jury of the Nation) are his Accuſers. Coke's Inſtit. part. 4. p. 24.

It is ſaid that a man taken into Cuſtody by Order of the Commons is taken in Execution, but it is contrary to the eternal Laws of Nature, and all Nations, that a man ſhould be taken in Execution before he have made his Defence, and a legal Sentence be paſſed upon him by Legal Proceſs and proof. Debates of the Houſe of Commons. pag. 217. A Commitment of this Houſe is always in nature of a Judgment, and the Party not Bailable.

It is deſtructive of the Liberty of the Subject that any man ſhould be ſo taken by them into Cuſtody, becauſe he is without all remedy, and if the thing happen to prove iujurious and oppreſſive, as it did in the Caſe of *John Wilſon* and *Roger Beckwith* Eſquires, two *Yorkſhire* Juſtices of the Peace, who were notoriouſly injured by it. Addreſs to the Freemen, &c. Part. 2. p. 38.

For theſe reaſons, which I ſubmit to wiſer men than my ſelf, I am humbly of opinion that no man ought to be taken into Cuſtody by the Order or Vote of the Commons, that is not a Member of their Houſe; except it be for matters relating to the Priviledges of Parliament, and that ſuch Priviledges as are commonly known; for if they may call what they pleaſe a Priviledge of a Parliament, it will in the Event be the ſame thing as an unlimited power.

As to all his Inſtances they do not deſerve any conſideration except the firſt, and that no man, as he relates it, can tell by whom the Commitment was made, without the Record which I cannot come at, and the latter were the Acts of Popular Parliaments which laid the foundations of our late troubles by ſuch proceedings. 4 *Edw.* 6. 18 *Jac.* 20 *Jac.* 3 *Car.*

My Author in the next place comes to juſtifie the Votes againſt the Miniſters, and lays down this as his foundation. *The Commons in Parliament have uſed two ways of delivering their Country from pernicious and powerful Favourites, The one is in a Parliamentary Courſe of Juſtice by impeaching* Pag. 16.

them which is uſed when they judge it needful to make them publick examples, by Capital, or other high puniſhments, for the terror of others: The other is by immediate Addreſs to the King to remove them as unfaithful or unprofitable Servants. Their Lives, their Liberties, or Eſtates are never endangered, but when they are proceeded againſt in the former of theſe ways: Then legal evidence of their guilt is neceſſary, then there muſt be a proper time allowed for their defence. In the other way the Parliament act as the Kings great Council, and when either Houſe obſerves that affairs are ill adminiſtred, that the Advice of Parliaments is rejected or ſlighted, the Courſe of Juſtice perverted, our Councils betrayed, Grievances multiplied, and the Government weakly and diſorderly managed, (of all which our Laws have made it impoſſible for the King to be guilty,) they neceſſarily muſt, and always have charged thoſe who had the Adminiſtration of affairs, and the Kings Ears, as the Authors of theſe miſchiefs, and have from time to time applied themſelves to him by Addreſſes for their removal from his preſence and Councils.

So here are all the Miniſters of State that are, or ever ſhall be, expoſed to the mercy of the Houſe of Commons, if proof can be brought againſt them, then have at all, Life, Liberty, and Eſtate muſt go for it; but if none can be had, then it is but voting them Enemies to the King and Kingdom, and Addreſſing to have them removed from his Majeſties Preſence and Councils for ever, and the work is done without allowing the liberty to anſwer for themſelves. And the reaſon that he gives for it is a pleaſant one; becauſe the King cannot be guilty, therefore they muſt. But may not a Houſe of Commons be miſtaken, and puniſh a man for what he never did? may not one man give the Advice, and another ſuffer for it at this rate of proceedings? But this is an old Cuſtom; What then, it is an unjuſt one.

There-

There may be many things plain and evident beyond the teſtimony of any Witneſs, which yet can never be proved in a legal way. Pag. 17.

This is true; but I hope he will not infer from hence that any man ſhall be puniſhed for thoſe things without teſtimony. I always thought all theſe caſes were reſerved to the Tribunal of God Almighty. And I believe this Gentleman would be loth to be tried by his own rule.

The Parliament may be buſied in ſuch great Affairs, as will not ſuffer them to purſue every Offender through a long proceſs. Ibid.

Then they may let him alone; or leave him to the Common Law, but to condemn him unheard, for want of leiſure, is ſuch a piece of juſtice as no man would be willing to ſubmit to in his own Caſe.

There may be many reaſons why a man ſhould be turned out of Service, which perhaps would not extend to ſubject him to puniſhment. Pag. 17.

That there may be reaſons why a man ſhould be turned out of Service is undeniable, but then thoſe reaſons ought to be alledged and proved; for the turning a man out of Service is certainly in many caſes a great puniſhment, tho not equal to hanging.

The People themſelves are highly concerned in the great Miniſters of State, who are Servants to the Kingdom as well as to the King, and the Commons, whoſe buſineſs it is to preſent all Grievances, as they are moſt likely to obſerve ſooneſt the folly and treachery of thoſe publick Servants, (the greateſt of all Grievances) ſo this repreſentation ought to have no little weight with the Prince. Ibid.

Here is the true reaſon as long as the Miniſters look upon themſelves as the Kings Servants they will adhere to the Crown, but if they be taught once that they are Servants to the People too, then becauſe it is difficult to ſerve

two

two Maſters, they will be more diſtracted, and act more timorouſly, eſpecially if according to the modern diſtinction the *Country-Party* get the Aſcendent of the *Court-Party* in a Parliament.

Proceedings of the four laſt Parl. p. 47.

Queen Elizabeth *told the Commons by the Lord Keeper, that ſhe miſliked that ſuch irreverence was (heretofore) towards Privy-Counſellors, (who were not to be accounted as Common Knights and Burgeſſes of the Houſe, that are Counſellors but during the Parliament) whereas the other are ſtanding Counſellors, and for their Wiſdom and great Service are called to the Council of State.*

They were not then thought to be ſuch publick Servants as might be treated at any rate, ſent to the Tower, or to carry up a Bill to the Lords, againſt which they had given their Vote, as if it were to triumph over them.

Pag. 17. *In hoc Parliamento conceſſa fuit Regi taxa inſolita & incolis tricabilis, & valde gravis,* Walſ. *nec ſervarentur ejus Evidentiæ in Theſauria Regia.* Ibid.

Polid. Virgil. *Suorum crebris conjurationibus vexatus.*

But Henry IV. (*a wiſe and a brave Prince*) *in the Fifth year of his Reign turned out four of his Servants, only becauſe the Commons deſired they might be removed.* But then this Prince had no Title, and therefore was not in a capacity to diſpute any thing with them; and in this very Parliament too; they gave him ſo extraordinary a Tax, and ſo troubleſom to the Subject, that they would not ſuffer any Record of it to be left in the Treaſury; and he was obliged to grant them this extraordinary favour in recompence of it. He had but newly in Battel conquered one Rebellion, wherein *Mortimers* Title was at the bottom, and was ingaged then in a War with *France*. And he had reaſon to fear a general Defection of the Nation; King *Richard* being reported to be alive. And he was then in great want of Money, ſo that for ſuch a Prince ſo beſet to grant any thing was far from a wonder, but ought no more to be drawn into Example than that Tax they then gave him; and leaſt of all now, when things are in a very different poſture.

But

But then all theſe Miniſters are cenſured for doing that which was approved by two of the three Eſtates. The Reſolve was this.

That all perſons who adviſed his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage to this Houſe, to inſiſt upon an opinion againſt the Bill for Excluding the Duke of York, *have given pernicious Counſel to his Majeſty, and are promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom.* Jan. 7. 1680.

Now this Bill was before this thrown out by the Houſe of Lords, and therefore there was no reaſon to Vote the Miniſters Enemies to the King and Kingdom for doing that which was approved by two of the three Eſtates in Parliament.

But they ought not to have appealed to the People againſt their own Repreſentatives. (*Why not?*) *The unfortunate Reigns of* Henry III. *Edward* II. *Richard* II. *and* Henry VI. *ought to ſerve as Land-marks to warn ſucceeding Kings; from preferring ſecret Councils to the wiſdom of their Parliaments.* Pag. 18.

And ſo ought the Example of his Majeſties Father to warn both his Majeſty and the whole Nation how they ſuffer the Miniſters of State to be trodden under foot by Factious men; and the Prerogatives of the Crown to be ſwallowed up, by pretended Priviledges of Parliament. for all theſe things have once already made way for the Ruine of the Monarchy; as that did for the enſlaving of the People.

The next thing my Author falls upon is the buſineſs of the Revenue, but here I cannot imagine what he would have, he makes a long Harangue againſt Alienation of the Revenues of the Crown, and about the reaſonableneſs of Reſumptions of thoſe that had been alienated. And tells us, *No Country did ever believe the Prince, how abſolute ſoever in other things, had power to ſell or give away the Revenue of the Kingdom, and leave his Succeſſor a Beggar.* Pag. 19.

Beggar. That the haughty French Monarch, as much power as he pretends to, is not aſhamed to own that he wanted power to make ſuch Alienations, and that Kings had that happy inability that they could do nothing contrary to the Laws of their Country.

This and much more my Author hath upon this occaſion learnedly, but very impertinently, written about theſe two Votes, believing his Reader could not diſtinguiſh betwixt an Alienation and an Anticipation.

But the beſt way to have this clearly underſtood is to inſert the Votes of the Commons, which are as followeth:

There were two Votes of the ſame nature paſſed in 1626 concerning Tonnage and Poundage. *Nalſons* Preface to his Collections. *pag.* 60.

Reſolved, That whoſoever ſhall hereafter lend, or cauſe to be lent, by way of Advance, any money upon the Branches of the Kings Revenue, ariſing by Cuſtoms, Exciſe, or Hearth-money, ſhall be adjudged to hinder the ſitting of Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſible for the ſame in Parliament.

Reſolved, That whoſoever ſhall accept or buy any Tally of Anticipation upon any part of the Kings Revenue (or whoſoever ſhall pay ſuch Tally hereafter to be ſtruck, ſhall be adjudged to hinder the ſitting of Parliaments, and ſhall be reſponſible therefore in Parliament.

Now what Advancing money upon the Revenues, and accepting Tallys of Anticipation have to do with Alienation of it I cannot deviſe. For certainly it is one thing to advance a Fine, and take a Farm ſo much the cheaper for three, four, or ſeven years, and another thing to purchaſe the ſame to a man and his Heirs for ever. And it is one thing to receive an Order to take ſuch a Sum of Money of the Tenant out of the next half years Rent, and a quite other thing to purchaſe the Feeſimple of an Eſtate, which is an Alienation.

Pag. 19. *The Revenues of the Crown of* England *are in their own nature appropriated to Publick Service, and therefore cannot without*

without injuſtice be diverted or Anticipated. May not an Anticipation be as well imployed upon the Publick Service as a growing Revenue when it is become due? Does Anticipation ſignifie miſpending or diverting from a Publick to a private uſe? Is it impoſſible the Publick ſhould at any time need a greater Sum of money than the Revenue will afford, and may not a Prince in ſuch a caſe Anticipate, and afterward get it up again by his good Husbandry? No, for

Either the Publick Revenue is ſufficient to anſwer the neceſſary occaſions of the Government, and then there is no colour for Anticipations, or elſe by ſome extraordinary Accident the King is reduced to want an extraordinary ſupply, and then he ought to reſort to his Parliament. Pag. 19.

Well, but ſuppoſe (as it may happen) the neceſſity is ſo urgent, that it cannot be put off till a Parliament can be called, and meet, and raiſe money. Or if you pleaſe, ſuppoſe a Parliament dare not truſt the King with money, or, which is all one, will pretend ſo. Or will not ſupply him unleſs he will paſs an Act that they ſhall ſit as long as they pleaſe; or unleſs he will let them turn out what Miniſters of State, Juſtices of the Peace, &c, they think fit, and put in others as they pleaſe. May not a Prince relieve himſelf in theſe caſes by an Advance or Anticipation, but muſt ſubmit abſolutely to the Commons? I hope he will not ſay theſe are impoſſible accidents.

Our Anceſtors did wiſely provide that the King and his People ſhould have frequent need of one another, and by having frequent opportunities of mutually relieving one anothers wants, be ſure ever to preſerve a dutiful affection in the Subject, and a Fatherly tenderneſs in the Prince. When the King had occaſion for the liberality of his People he would be well inclined to hear and redreſs their Grievances, and when they wanted eaſe from oppreſſions, they would not fail with alacrity to ſupply the occaſions of the Crown. Pag. 20.

All this is certainly true, and was the very reaſon why the two firſt Parliaments of his Majeſties Reign, of whoſe Loyalty and hearty affections to the Crown no man ever doubted, ſetled part of the Revenue on his Majeſty for his Life only, that his Succeſſor might be obliged by a regrant of it. And the whole which they gave to this King was but equal to the conſtant and regular Expences of the Government, as they deſigned it, tho it is ſaid it falls ſhort of that too.

Now, might things be thus carried, as my Author tells us, they were deſigned to be, *England* would certainly be the happieſt Nation in the World. The King would be as rich as his People could make him, and the People as happy as a tender and good King could make them. But alas! there is ſprung up a new Generation of men who have taken ſuch an Averſion for Monarchy, and the juſt Prerogatives of the Crown, that till theſe Grievances (the greateſt Grievances that ever can betide a free-born people) be totally taken away, they can find no guſt in the removal of all thoſe other petty Grievances, of which our Anceſtors complained ſo often, and as often found redreſs.

There is alſo ariſen a ſort of ſober Proteſtants (as the Diſſenters will needs be called) who can neither agree one with another, nor with the Religion that is Eſtabliſhed, and to them it is an intolerable Grievance to ſee Epiſcopacy, a Liturgy, and a few innocent Ceremonies, which they call Popery, eſtabliſhed in the Church, and till theſe are extirpated Root and Branch, and every of their pious Whimſies ſetled ſucceſſively in the place of them, or tolerated at once, they, good men! cannot be at eaſe neither.

Theſe two have twiſted their intereſts together with a third ſort that have no Religion at all, but have a damnable inclination to the Spoils of the Church, and the Plunder of

of the Nation. And they by Popular Arts have wheedled and deluded great numbers of the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation into a ſtrong belief that Popery is by our Governours deſigned to be ſet up in the Church, and Arbitrary Government in the State, things which theſe good men hate mightily, as there is good reaſon for it, but are very much abuſed by the Information, and much more by being perſuaded, as they have been, that the chuſing diſcontented men to be their Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons was the only way to prevent theſe two dreadful things from falling upon them.

Theſe men however have ſometimes got to be the major part of that Houſe, and the Conſequence hath ever been that the King could get no Supplies, be his neceſſities what they could be, unleſs he would grant ſuch things as tended immediately to the ruine of the Church and Monarchy. And if he were a little averſe to it, then he was preſently Libelled to the Nation as a favourer of Popery, and a deſigner of Arbitrary Government; but if it were not ſafe to attack him, then (according to the method of the late Rebels) the cry was raiſed againſt the Evil Counſellors, or the Corrupt Miniſters, and nothing would do, but the turning them out of their employments as treacherous Servants to the Kingdom, for being too faithful to the King.

And becauſe they can never effect theſe great things by other means, they have always turned this excellent Conſtitution againſt it ſelf, and that which was intended to endear the King and his People each to others, their mutual want of each others aſſiſtance, hath been made a Steppal to mount the Throne, and pluck down the Mitre. So that his Majeſty, who knew how things went in his Father's days, was not out when he told the Commons in his Speech, *March* 1. 1661. as followeth:

Gentlemen,

I need not put you in mind of the miſerable effects which have attended the wants and neceſſities of the Crown; I need not tell you that there is a Republick Party ſtill in the Kingdom, which have the courage to promiſe themſelves another Revolution; and methinks I ſhould as little need to tell you, that the only way with Gods bleſſing to diſappoint their hopes and deſires, and indeed to reduce them from thoſe extravagant hopes and deſires is, to let them ſee that you have ſo provided for the Crown, that it hath wherewithal to ſupport it ſelf, and to ſecure you, which I am ſure is all I deſire, and deſire only for your preſervation. Therefore I do conjure you, by all the profeſſions of affection you have made to me, by all the kindneſs I know you have for me, after all your deliberations, betake your ſelves to ſome ſpeedy reſolutions, and ſettle ſuch a real and ſubſtantial Revenue upon me, as may hold ſome proportion with the neceſſary Expences I am at for the Peace, and Benefit, and Honour of the Kingdom, that they who look for troubles at home may deſpair of their wiſhes, and that our Neighbours abroad, by ſeeing that all is well at home, may have that eſteem and value of Us as may ſecure the Intereſt and Honour of the Nation, and make the happineſs of this Kingdom, and of this CITY, *once more the Admiration and Envy of the World.*

This

This Parliament underſtood things well, and provided accordingly, ſo that the nineteenth of *May* following, the Lord Chancellor, in a Speech made at their Prorogation, told them, *They had wiſely, very wiſely provided ſuch a conſtant growing Revenue as may with Gods bleſſing preſerve the Crown from thoſe ſcandalous wants and neceſſities as have heretofore expoſed it and the Kingdom to thoſe diſmal miſeries, from which they are but even now buoyed up; for whatſoever other humane cauſes may be aſſigned, according to the ſeveral fancies and imaginations of men, of our late miſerable diſtractions, they cannot be ſo reaſonably imputed to any one cauſe, as to the extreme poverty of the Crown: the want of power could never have appeared, if it had not been for the want of money.*

But ſince that, the riſing greatneſs of our Neighbours have mounted the Expences of the Crown above that growing Revenue that was then ſetled, and the Republical Party, as his Majeſty ſtiles them, promiſe themſelves the happineſs of bringing about another Revolution, by the ſame means the laſt was, in his Majeſties days, if it be poſſible, but however at his Death. And therefore if the Crown thus beſet ſhall at any time make uſe of Anticipations to relieve it ſelf; they only ought to be reſponſible for it, who have, or ſhall, make it neceſſary: For ſurely no Prince would borrow, when he might have it freely given upon reaſonable terms, unleſs he took a pride in counting the number of his Creditors.

And therefore (ſaith my Author) *it has ever been eſteemed a Crime in Counſellors, who perſuaded the King to Anticipate his Revenue, and a Crime in thoſe who furniſh'd money upon ſuch Anticipations in an extraordinary way, however extraordinary the occaſion might be. For this cauſe it was that the Parliament in the* 35 *of* Henry VIII. *did not only diſcharge all thoſe Debts which the King had contracted; but Enacted that thoſe Lenders, who had been before paid again* Pag. 20.

by

by the King, ſhould refund all thoſe Sums into the Exchequer, as judging it reaſonable puniſhment to make them forfeit the Money they lent, ſince they have gone about to introduce ſo dangerous a precedent.

It is bad Logick that raiſeth general Concluſions from particular inſtances, and it will appear ſo in this that we have in hand; which, becauſe I cannot ſo well and creditably do it my ſelf, I will make appear by tranſcribing a paſſage out of my Lord *Coke*, tho it be ſomewhat long.

Advice concerning new and plauſible Projects and Offers in Parliament.

Cokes Inſtit. *part.*2. *p.*44.

"When any plauſible project is made in Parliament to "draw the Lords and Commons to aſſent to any Act, "(eſpecially in matters of weight and importance) if "both Houſes do give upon the matter projected and pro- "miſed their Conſent, it ſhall be moſt neceſſary, they be- "ing truſted for the Commonwealth, to have the matter "projected and promiſed (which moved the Houſe to "conſent) to be eſtabliſhed in the ſame Act leſt the bene- "fit of the Act be taken, and the matter projected and "promiſed never performed, and ſo the Houſes of Parlia- "ment perform not the truſt repoſed in them, as it fell out "(taking one example from many) in the Reign of "*Henry* VIII. On the Kings behalf the Members of both "Houſes were informed in Parliament, that no King or "Kingdom was ſafe but where the King had three Abilities, "Firſt, To live of his own, and be able to defend his King- "dom upon any ſudden Invaſion, or Inſurrection. Se- "condly, To aid his Confederates, otherwiſe they would "never aſſiſt him. Thirdly, To reward his well deſerving "Servants. Now the Proj ct was, that if the Parliament "would give unto him all the Abbies, Priories, Friories,

"Nunne-

" Nunneries, and other Monaſteries, that for ever in time
" then to come, he would take order that the ſame ſhould
" not be converted to private uſe: but firſt, That his Ex-
" chequer for the purpoſes aforeſaid ſhould be inrich'd.
" Secondly, the Kingdom ſtrengthened by a continual main- ☜
" tainance of Forty thouſand well trained Souldiers with
" ſkilful Captains and Commanders. Thirdly, For the
" benefit and eaſe of the Subject, who never afterwards ☜
" (as was projected) in any time to come ſhould be charged
" with Subſidies, Fifteenths, Loans, or other common
" aids. Fourthly, Leſt the Honour of the Realm ſhould
" receive any Diminution of Honour by the diſſolution of
" the ſaid Monaſteries, there being twenty nine Lords of
" Parliament of the Abbots and Priors (that held of the
" King *per Baroniam*) that the King would create a num-
" ber of Nobles, which we omit. The ſaid Monaſteries
" were given to the King by authority of divers Acts of 27 *H.* 8.
" Parliament, but no proviſion was therein made for the 31 *H.* 8. c. 13.
" ſaid Project, or any part thereof, only *ad faciendum po-* 32 *H.* 8. c. 14.
" *pulum*, theſe Poſſeſſions were given to the King, his Heirs
" and Succeſſors to do and uſe therewith his and their own
" wills to the pleaſure of Almighty God, and the honour and 27 *H.* 8. c. 24.
" profit of ~~Almighty God~~. this Realm.

" Now obſerve the Cataſtrophe in the ſame Parliament
" of 32 *Henry* VIII. when the great and opulent Priory
" of St. *Johns of Jeruſalem* was given to the King, he de-
" manded and had a Subſidy both of the Clergy and
" Laity, and the like he had in 34 *Henry* VIII. and in
" 37 *Henry* VIII. he had another Subſidy. And ſince the
" diſſolution of the ſaid Monaſteries he exacted divers
" Loans, and againſt Law received the ſame.

Now let my Reader judge if it be reaſonable to make what the Parliament did in the 25 of *Henry* VIII. a ſtanding Rule for all ſucceeding times, when it is morally impoſſible that ever any King of *England* ſhould have ſuch a

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Treaſure and Revenue as they had given this King within leſs than ſeven years, and a Subſidy but the very year before beſides. If we had ſuch Parliaments now, and it were poſſible to give the King ſuch Supplies as they did, I would freely give my Vote to have the next Lender Hanged.

Pag. 20. *The true way to put the King out of a poſſibility of ſupporting the Government, is* to let *him waſte in one year that money which ought to bear the charge of the Government for ſeven.*

But, Sir, to put you out of pain for that, this would neceſſitate the ſitting of Parliaments, and the yielding to whatſoever they could deſire. So this, tho true, was not the reaſon of the Vote, but directly contrary to it; but the King knows the Conſequence of that too well to need any reſtraint in that particular, for he knows as well as you; that this is the direct method to deſtroy not only the Credit of the Crown at home and abroad, but the Monarchy it ſelf.

Ibid. *If the King reſolves never to pay the money that he borrows, what faith will be given to the Royal Promiſes, and the honour of the Nation will ſuffer in that of the Prince. And if it be put upon the People to repay it, this would be a way to impoſe a neceſſity of giving Taxes without end whether they would or no.*

Omitting the undutifulneſs of theſe ſuppoſitions, it is very remarkable, that the great Anticipations upon the Revenue were made in the time of the laſt Dutch War, when they who now ſo much clamour againſt them were Miniſters, and they who now are ſuch, and bear all the blame, were not in a capacity to hinder it. Whether they had any ſuch intentions as theſe in it, they beſt know, but I am ſure one of them made it out powerfully that there was all the reaſon in the world that the Parliament ſhould pay off this debt. *But,* ſaith my Author, *as mercenary as they*

they were, the Penſioners would never diſcharge the Revenue of theſe Anticipations to the Bankers. Which is an Excellent and convincing Argument that they (how much ſoever they are ſlandered) were not ſuch mercenary Penſioners, as the world is now told they were.

Now, as he tells us, the W. Commons made this Vote purely to keep people from being again chouſed the ſame way, and in mere pity to the Cries of many Widows and Orphans. And truly, if they had taken care to have had thoſe that wanted this Caution firſt paid off, the world might have poſſibly thought ſo. And *then a Declaration that ſuch ſecurities were void, and that no future Parliament could without breach of Truſt repay that Money which was at firſt borrowed only to prevent the ſitting of Parliaments,* might have had a better reception in this Kingdom than the two Votes they made without it. As for his quotation of 1 *R.* 3. *Cap.* 2. againſt Loans, that and all the after Statutes is againſt involuntary and forcible taking of money.

But the Commons were very modeſt, and reſtrained their Votes to only three branches of the Revenue, all which were by ſeveral Acts of Parliament given to his preſent Majeſty. Pag. 21.

Sir, I think the laſt Vote is general, and extends to the whole Revenue, tho the firſt doth not, but only to thoſe three ſmall Branches of Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and Hearth money. A modeſt reſtraint indeed.

The Statute 12 *Car.* 2. *Cap.* 4. *ſays, That the Commons repoſing Truſt in his Majeſty, for guarding the Seas againſt all perſons intending the diſturbance of Trade, and the invading of the Realm to that intent do give him Tonnage and Poundage, and this is as direct an appropriation as words can make, and therefore as it is a manifeſt wrong to the Subject to divert any part thereof to other uſes, ſo for the King to Anticipate it, is plainly to diſable himſelf to perform the truſt repoſed in him.* Pag. 21.

Now here are ſeveral ill Conſequences from an undoubted true Principle. For it is no wrong to the Subject to divert a part of it to other uſes if the Seas can be guarded, and the Realm ſecured with leſs than the whole, ar they have been very well all his Majeſties Reign hitherto. Secondly, An Anticipation may be neceſſary to attain the ends of the truſt if Parliaments ſhall ſtill go on to refuſe the King extraordinary Supplies upon extraordinary occaſions.

Ibid. *The Statute of* 12 *Car.* 2, *Cap.* 23. *which did impower the King to diſpoſe of the Exciſe did Enact, that ſuch Contracts ſhall be effectual in Law, ſo as they be not for longer time than three years.* So that here is care taken before their Vote that no great Advance or Anticipation ſhall be taken upon that Branch.

Pag.22. *The Statute of the* 13. *and* 14. *of Car.* 2. *Cap.* 10. *declares that the Hearth-money was given that the publick Revenue might be proportioned to the Publick Charge, and it is impoſſible that ſhould ever be whilſt it is liable to be preingaged and Anticipated.*

Is it ſo? Muſt a Prince act to the utmoſt of his power with leſs prudence and diſcretion than other men? Muſt I needs Sell or Morgage my Eſtate for as much as it is worth; becauſe I may do it, and no man can hinder me?

Pag.22. *The Parliament took another care in relation to this Branch, and made it penal for any one ſo much as to accept of any Penſion or Grant for years, or any other Eſtate, or any Sum of Money out of the Revenue ariſing by (Hearth-money) by virtue of that Act, from the King, his Heirs or Succeſſors,* as my Author takes notice: and now what reaſon was there for him to make ſuch a Splutter as he did about Alienations and leaving the Succeſſor a beggar, when one of theſe Branches, the Cuſtoms and half the Exciſe is given to his Majeſty only for his life, and ſuch care is taken to keep

keep the third unchargeable by the very Act that gave it? If theſe things tend to the vindication either of my Author, or the Votes, I have loſt my Reaſon.

My Author concludes with this ſmart reflection on the Declaration, *This we are ſure of, that if the inviolable obſervation of theſe Statutes* (it ſhould have been Votes) *will reduce his Majeſty to a more helpleſs Condition than the meaneſt of his Subjects, he will ſtill be left in a better Condition than the richeſt and greateſt of his Anceſtors, none of which were ever matters of ſuch a Revenue.* Pag. 22.

The King complains of the Votes, and the Statutes are craftily laid in the way to bear the brunt; the intention of a thing may poſſibly never ſucceed, as I hope it never will here: But yet the complaint is juſt, if it apparently tended to ſuch an end, tho it never follow. But how his Majeſty can be in the moſt helpleſs and moſt wealthy condition at one and the ſame time, *in fact*, my Author muſt inform us. His Majeſties Expence as well as Revenue is above all his Royal Anceſtors, and whatever his Revenue is he was not beholden to theſe Voters for it, who gave him nothing but paper and trouble. And of the firſt of theſe his Majeſty had ſuch a quantity; that he is ſaid to have chid his Tailor for not making his Pockets big enough to receive it. His Coffers in the mean time were not ſurcharged, nor like to ſurfeit.

The next thing my Author falls upon is the Vote for ſuſpenſion of the Execution of the Penal Laws againſt the Diſſenters; which he firſt recites, and then juſtifieth, and I will follow him.

The Houſe of Commons are in the next place accuſed of a very high Crime, the aſſuming to themſelves a power of ſuſpending Acts of Parliament, becauſe they declared it was their Opinion, That the proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal Laws, is at this time grievous to the Subject, a weakning of the Proteſtant Intereſt, an incou- Pag. 22.

ragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Nation. *The Miniſters remembred that not many years ago, the whole Nation was juſtly Alarm'd upon the aſſuming an Arbitrary power of ſuſpending Penal Laws, and therefore they thought it would be very popular to accuſe the Commons of ſuch an Attempt.*

Did the Miniſters remember how the Nation was Alarm'd, and had the Commons forgot it? Well, let us follow the Gentleman, and ſee how he will clear his Commons from the guilt of this high Crime which he acknowledgeth was ſo juſtly blamed in the Miniſters.

Pag. 22. *But how they (the Miniſters) could poſſibly miſinterpret a Vote at that rate, how they could ſay the Commons pretended to a power of repealing Laws, when they only declare their opinion of the inconveniency of them, will never be underſtood till the Authors of this are pleaſed to ſhew their Cauſes and Reaſons in a ſecond Declaration.*

The charge in the Declaration is that by this Vote, *They aſſumed to themſelves a power of ſuſpending Acts of Parliament, without any regard to the Laws eſtabliſhed.* This the Author could not deny, nor defend; and therefore he changeth the terms into a power of Repealing Laws, with which the Commons were never charged. Now, a power of Suſpending and a power of Repealing are vaſtly different. Every Pardon is a ſuſpenſion of the Execution of the Law in relation to the Party pardoned, and ſo is every Diſpenſation; and when the King put forth the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, there was no deſign of repealing, but only of ſuſpending the Execution of the Penal Laws *pro tempore*; ſo that if the Commons deſigned this Vote or Declaration of theirs ſhould have any other effect than to ſhew their good will to the Diſſenters, it muſt extend tho not to a Repeal, yet to a ſuſpenſion of the Execution of the Penal Laws againſt them, which is all the Declaration charged the Commons with; and ſo the Diſſenters underſtood

underſtood it, and have ſince pleaded this Vote in Bar to the Execution of thoſe Laws againſt them, tho they acknowledge they are not Repealed thereby.

Every impartial man will own that the Commons had reaſon for this opinion of theirs. Pag. 22.

Suppoſe they had reaſon for it, this will not give them a legal Power. The King hath good reaſon to do many things which yet if he ſhould offer at, they would clamour againſt him as an Uſurper of an Arbitrary Power; for reaſon gives no man any Authority to act, except he hath a lawful power to back his reaſon with. There may be great reaſon to repeat an Act of Parliament, and yet if all the Judges in *Weſtminſter* ſhould thereupon declare it to be either ſuſpended or repealed, I know what we ſhould hear of it quickly. Well, but let us hear their Reaſons.

They had with great anxiety obſerved that the preſent deſign of the Papiſts was not againſt any one ſort of Proteſtants, but Univerſal, and for extirpating the Reformed Religion. Pag. 22.

That this might be the ultimate deſign of the Plot, is not much to be doubted, but it was immediately bent only againſt the Religion eſtabliſhed, and accordingly there were Succeſſors appointed to all the Biſhops and dignified Clergy, but none to Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Owen*, and the reſt of that Fry that ever I heard of. So that this reaſon concludes not in favour of the Diſſenters, but of the Regular Clergy, who as they were in moſt danger ought to have been moſt taken care of. But this Vote left them in the ſame danger it found them of being deſtroyed by the Papiſts, and let looſe the Diſſenters upon them too, to encreaſe that danger.

2. *They ſaw what advantages theſe Enemies made of our Diviſions, and how cunningly they diverted us from perſecuting them by fomenting our Jealouſies of one another.* Pag. 23.

Did

Did they not, Sir, obſerve too how the Diſſenters took the occaſion of the Plot, and of the general hatred againſt Popery to ruine the Loyal and Conformable Clergy? How they preſently engroſſed the Title of Proteſtant, and endeavoured to make the Rabble believe that all but the Bobtail Holders-forth and their Followers were Papiſts in Maſquerade, Tories, Tantivimen? &c. If they did not obſerve theſe things, others did. And alſo that all of a ſudden all the Jeſuits aſſumed the ſhapes of Nonconformiſts, and railed ſtoutly againſt Biſhops, Ceremonies, Humane Impoſitions, and Arbitrary Government. They knew there was no poſſibility of eſcaping the vengeance of the Church of *England* men but by ſetting the Diſſenters upon them, and they needed no Spur. So this was a good Argument to have taught the Diſſenters more modeſty; but ſince they had not that, it was a ſtrong Argument to have ſuppreſs'd them vigorouſly as the only Auxiliaries of the Papiſts againſt the Church; and the great hinderers of the proſecution of the Plot.

3. *They ſaw the ſtrength and nearneſs of the King of* France, *and judged of his inclinations by his uſage of his own Proteſtant Subjects.*

4. *They conſidered the number, and the bloudy Principles of the Iriſh. And*

5. *That* Scotland *was already delivered into the hands of a Prince, the known head of the Papiſts in theſe Kingdoms, and the occaſion of their Plots and Inſolencies, as more than one Parliament had declared.* (It ſhould have been worded thus) as they had declared in more than one Parliament, for theſe were the ſame men in ſeveral Parliaments, who made theſe ſeveral Declarations.

Now I cannot conceive wherein the force of theſe three Arguments lies, the French King was powerful, and hated Proteſtants, therefore the Church of *England* muſt be prepared for ruine by giving as many as pleaſed a free liberty

to

to ſeparate from her, and procure her deſtruction. The Iriſh Papiſts had ill deſigns juſt ripe for execution, therefore the Engliſh Nonconformiſts were to be tolerated that they might get ſtrength, and be able to riſe at the ſame time, to aſcertain the deſtruction of the Church.

But the fifth Reaſon is much better; *Scotland* was in the hands of the Duke, How came he by it? What, did he invade it by force and violence againſt his Majeſties Will? If he did, then let us make a mighty Combination againſt him: But if it were delivered to him by the proper Owner, who may govern it by whom he pleaſe, what occaſion is there for the Diſſenters ſervice here?

6. *They could not but take notice into what hands the moſt conſiderable Truſts both Civil and Military were put.* Pag. 23.

7. *And that notwithſtanding all Addreſſes, and all Proclamations, for a ſtrict execution of the Penal Laws againſt Papiſts, yet their Faction ſo far prevailed that they were eluded, and only the Diſſenting Proteſtants ſmarted under the rage of them.*

That they took very good notice who were imployed in Civil and Military Truſts appears by the Addreſs of *December* 21. 1680. not many days before this Vote, where they tell the King, *That ſeveral Deputy Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace, fitly qualified for thoſe imployments, have been of late diſplaced, and others put in their room, who are men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papiſts and Popery.* Theſe they would have had turned out, and others put in; who are men of *Integrity and known affection to the Proteſtant Religion*; and may be moreover *men of Ability, of Eſtates and Intereſt in their Country.* His Majeſty knew what they meant, but did not think fit to change his choice; and the truth is they gave him no great encouragement by their own carriage to have any more to do with theſe able, wealthy, popular men.

And

And therefore it ſeems this was one reaſon that moved them to Vote the Proteſtant Diſſenters free from Penal Laws, either to keep them out of the hands of theſe evil Truſtees both Civil and Military; or elſe to make a Party out of them not only againſt the Duke of *York*, but alſo againſt theſe Countenancers of Papiſts and Popery; that is, againſt his Majeſties Officers both Civil and Military. As if becauſe the French King, notwithſtanding his great Power and Averſion to the Proteſtant Religion, could not hurt the Church of *England*, therefore the Diſſenters were to be careſſed and cheriſhed, that they in a ſmall time might be in a capacity to do it. And now if theſe were not good reaſons for the Vote, let any impartial man (that is, any but a Church of *England* man) judge.

Pag. 23. *In the midſt of ſuch Circumſtances was there not cauſe to think an* Union *of all Proteſtants neceſſary, and could they have any juſt grounds to believe that the Diſſenters, whilſt they lay under the preſſures of ſevere Laws, ſhould with ſuch Alacrity and Courage as was requiſite, undertake the defence of a Country where they were ſo ill treated?*

Whether this queſtion relates to the French King and the Papiſts, or the Duke and the Civil and Military Officers may be a queſtion, and therefore it muſt be ſo anſwered. As to the firſt, there was all the reaſon in the world that they ſhould joyn heartily with the Government againſt the Papiſts and French, for they could not hope to mend their condition by falling into their hands, who they knew would treat them with other manner of ſeverities than thoſe they met with from the Laws; if they did not know this, any of the French Proteſtants that fled over into *England* might have informed them ſufficiently. Now, of evils the leaſt is to be choſen, and tho their condition had not been equal to their deſires, yet it had been a madneſs to have made it worſe by delivering up themſelves

ſelves and their Country into the hands of the French and Papiſts.

But if it relates to the Duke, and the Civil and Military Officers, then I hope he will excuſe me if I do not think it fit to have another Union of Proteſtants of that ſort again.

A long and ſad Experience had ſhewed, how vain the endeavours of former Parliaments had been to force us to be all of one * Opinion, *and therefore the Houſe of Commons reſolved to take a ſure way to make us all of one* Affection. Pag. 23.

* Suppoſe that the Church of *England* were diſarmed of all thoſe Laws by which ſhe is guarded; and would not this turn a National Church into nothing elſe but a Tolerated Sect or Party? Would it not take away all appearance of Eſtabliſhment from it? *Lord Chancellors Speech, April* 13. 75. Would this Unite us in one Affection?

This was the very reaſon of the Declaration of Liberty of Conſcience: But how unlike that courſe was to prevail, the Nation had ſufficient experience in a few years. And, Sir, I can aſſure you, it is above the power of a Houſe of Commons to unite thoſe men in Affection, who differ not only in Opinion, but Practice too, in matters of Religion.

For theſe reaſons my Author ſaith this Vote was made in order to a repeal of them by a Bill to be brought in, and preſently he grows Pettiſh, and tells us, *None but a Frenchman could have the confidence to declaim againſt a proceeding ſo regular and Parliamentary as this.* Pag. 24.

Your humble Servant Sir, I pray be a little pacified, you may poſſibly be miſtaken as well as another man, but would, I believe, take it a little unkindly to be called Monſieur preſently. The very firſt Vote they made that day was this: *Reſolved, That whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty to Prorogue this Parliament, to any other purpoſe than in order to the paſſing of a Bill for the Excluſion of* James *Duke of* York, *is a betrayer of the King, the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Kingdom of* England; *a promoter of the French intereſt,*

and a Penſioner to France. So they knew they were to be Prorogued that very day, and as the Story goes, made more than ordinary haſte to paſs theſe Votes. Now, it was impoſſible that a Bill ſhould be brought in, much leſs paſſed in that Seſſion which was to end before night, and therefore this was not, nor could not be the cauſe of that Vote, and all your little Queries, founded upon this ſuppoſition, are ſilly and impertinent.

Pag.24. *There was not the leaſt direction or ſignification to the Judges which might give any occaſion for the reflection which follows in the Declaration. The due and impartial execution of the Laws, is the unqueſtionable duty of the Judges, and we hope they will always remember that duty ſo well, as not to neceſſitate a Houſe of Commons to do theirs, by calling them to account for making private inſtructions the Rule of their judgments, and acting as men who have more regard to their Places than their Oaths.*

So the Diſſenters may ſee they are miſtaken when they think the Judges or Juſtices may forbear executing the

Ibid. Laws againſt them upon the ſcore of this Vote.

But tho the Judges are ſworn to execute all Laws, yet there is no obligation upon any man to inform againſt another.

No Sir, Is not every Grand-Jury man, every Conſtable, and Churchwarden ſworn to Preſent the breakers of our Laws as well as the Judges are to puniſh them? And as for the next Conundrams of yours, the comparing a parcel of Laws made within twenty years, to thoſe Antiquated ones about Caps, and Bows and Arrows, and killing of Lambs and Calves, and your buſineſs of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, they are ſuch ſtuff as a man of half your underſtanding would have been aſhamed to have menſioned in a good cauſe.

In the next place my Author acquaints us what are the

Pag.25. cauſes uſually of diſuſing Laws, alterations of the Circumſtances whereupon a Law was made; or if it be againſt the

the genious of a People, or have effects contrary to the intents of the Maker, none of which can be ſaid in this caſe. Nor is that true which follows, that the quiet, ſafety, or trade of our Nation hath been promoted by the not executing of theſe Laws, as any man may know that can remember but ten years backward. *And therefore notwithſtanding the Vote of the Commons, the Judges may act wiſely and honeſtly if they ſhould encourage Informers, or quicken Juries by ſtrict and ſevere Charges. For the due and impartial execution of the Laws is the unqueſtionable duty of the Judges,* according to my Author, and therefore I will hope they ſhall not be accounted Knaves or Fools for doing their unqueſtionable duty.

But then my Author hath another quarrel with the Miniſters, and that was for numbring this Vote amongſt the cauſes of *the Diſſolution of that Parliament when the Black Rod was at the door of the Houſe, to require them to attend his Majeſty at the very time when it was made.* Pag. 25.

Well, ſuppoſe we ſhould grant that this was not one of thoſe Votes that occaſioned the Prerogation, it not being then made when that was reſolved on, yet it might occaſion their Diſſolution, which hapned ſome time after. And was not this an excellent time to make Votes for the bringing in of Bills for the Repeal of Laws when the Black Rod was at the door to call the Houſe to a Prorogation?

After a little anger againſt the Miniſters for arraigning one of the Three Eſtates, in the face of the World, for uſurping power over the Laws, impriſoning their fellow Subjects, Arbitrarily expoſing the Kingdom to the greateſt dangers, and indeavouring to deprive the King of all poſſibility of ſupporting the Government, (the man hath forgot how often he hath arraigned the Long Loyal Parliament for a parcel of Mercenary Penſioners) he in the Pag. 11, 20.

next place falls foul upon the Clergy for publiſhing this Declaration like an Excommunication in all Churches.

Pag. 26. *But if they* (the Miniſters) *erred in the things they judged rightly in the choice of the perſons who were to publiſh it. Blind Obedience was requiſite, where ſuch unjuſtifiable things were impoſed, and that could be no where ſo intire as amongſt thoſe Clergy-men whoſe preferment depended upon it.*

Yes, without doubt, ten thouſand Clergy-men did expect to be preferred preſently for this piece of blind Obedience. Yet he is at it again in the next page, a Set of Presbyterian Clergy would not have been ſo tame. Well, but this would not have done tho, *If the Paper, which was to be read in the Desk, had not been ſo ſuitable to the Doctrine which ſome of them had often declared in the Pulpit.* Then it did not go againſt their Conſciences.

It did not become them to inquire whether they had ſufficient Authority for what they did, ſince the Printer calls it the Kings Declaration.

No; Where, or of whom ſhould they have enquired? And it being Printed by the Kings Printer, with his Majeſties Royal Arms before it, and ſent them by their Ordinaries the Biſhops, they had no reaſon to queſtion whether it were the Kings or no. And there was as little reaſon that they ſhould concern themſelves, *Whether they might not one day be called to an account for publiſhing it.* They had reaſon to truſt that his Majeſty, who commanded them to do it, would protect them in their blind Obedience. *And as for his Law-Quirks, whether what his Majeſty ſingly Ordered when he ſate in Council, and came forth without the Stamp of the Great Seal, gave them a ſufficient warrant to read it publickly.* Theſe things never entered into their heads.

Well, but Sir, tho thoſe *ſame Clergy-men, driven on by Ambition, might act in this without fear or ſhame, and think*

as

as little of a Parliament, as the Court Favourites, who took care to diſſolve that at Oxford, *before they durſt tell us the faults of that at* Weſtminſter. Tho it might be ſo as you ſay, yet the Shoal of Addreſſors that came in to thank his Majeſty for that Declaration, they had more light; and, Sir, if you be reſolved to call all theſe Miniſters, all theſe Clergy-men, all theſe Addreſſors to an account in the next Parliament, pray for cold weather, and long days, and another Parliament, that may ſit for ever if it pleaſe, or you may happen to want time to go through with ſo pious and good a work.

But Sir, tho the Miniſters durſt not diſcover the faults of the *Weſtminſter* Parliament till they had taken care to diſſolve that *Oxford*, his Majeſty in his Speech there, did. Which he began thus:

The unwarrantable proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons were the occaſion of my parting with the laſt Parliament: For I, who will never uſe Arbitrary Government my ſelf, am reſolved not to ſuffer it in others. I am unwilling to mention particulars, becauſe I am deſirous to forget faults, &c.

The gracious Speech there made, and the gracious Declaration that followed, are ſo much of a piece that we may juſtly conclude the ſame perſons to have been the Authors of both. *Pag 27. of this Book.*

So that you may ſee if you pleaſe that the *Oxford* Parliament was told in general the faults of that which preceded in order to their avoiding them, if they could have made that good uſe of his Majeſties Advice, which will render them the leſs excuſable to all the world.

So now we come to that Parliament at Oxford, *which ſaith the Declaration was aſſembled as ſoon as that was diſſolved; and* (ſaith my Author) *might have added, Diſſolved as ſoon as Aſſembled, the Miniſters having imployed the People forty days in chuſing Knights and Burgeſſes to be ſent home in* Pag. 27.

Eight

Right, with a Declaration after them, as if they had been called together only to be affronted.

As to the People, if their Knights and Burgeſſes came back ſooner than they expected, they had reaſon to thank themſelves, who had twice before ſent up the ſame men; and as you obſerved before, the people do not change ſuddenly, ſo neither doth the Court, but doth as certainly ſend back a Parliament, that will not be governed, as the People ſend them. And the People were overjoyed too, to ſee them again, for when they went out they had told them, they never expected to come back again. So that ſo ſpeedy and ſafe a return was as welcome to them that ſent them, as could be imagined.

Pag. 6.

As for the Knights and Burgeſſes themſelves they had fair warning given them by his Majeſty before-hand, and if they would affront either Him, or the Upper Houſe, they did it at their apperil; and it was well they ſcaped ſo well, as to be ſent home with a Declaration after them.

Pag. 27. *My Author acknowledgeth that his Majeſty failed not to give good Advice unto them, who were called together to Adviſe him.* And ſo many; I might ſay, all our former Princes have done before his Majeſty; and commanded them too, not to meddle with ſuch and ſuch things; yea, and puniſhed private Members ſometimes for doing otherwiſe. The Lord Keeper in the 35 year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign ſpoke thus to the Commons.

Proceedings of the four laſt Parl. *Pag.* 32.

"It is her Majeſties pleaſure, the time be not ſpent in "deviſing and enacting new Laws, the number of which "are ſo great already, that it rather burtheneth than eaſeth "the Subject, *&c.*

Vide. p. 178.

"And whereas heretofore it hath been uſed that many "have delighted themſelves in long Orations, full of Ver"boſity and vain Oſtentations, more than in ſpeaking "things of ſubſtance, the time that is precious would not "be

" be thus ſpent. And in the ſame Parliament, the Lord Keeper upon the uſual demands by the New Speaker, ſaid thus:

" To your three demands the Queen anſwereth, Liberty " of Speech is granted you, *&c.* but you muſt know what " priviledge you have, not to ſpeak every one what he " liſteth, or what cometh in his brain to utter, but your " priviledge is to ſay Yea, or No. Wherefore Mr. Speaker, her " Majeſties pleaſure is, that if you perceive any Idle Heads, " which will not ſtick to hazard their own Eſtates, which " will meddle with Reforming of the Church, and tranſ- " forming of the Commonwealth; and do exhibit any " Bills to that purpoſe, that you receive them not, until " they be viewed and conſidered of by thoſe whom it is " fitter ſhould conſider of ſuch things, and can better judge " of them.

" To your perſons all priviledge is granted, with this " Caveat, that under colour of this Priviledge, no mans " ill doings, or not performing of Duties, be covered and " protected.

" The laſt free Acceſs, is alſo granted to her Majeſties " Perſon, ſo that it be upon urgent and weighty cauſes, " and at times convenient, and when her Majeſty may " be at leiſure from other important cauſes of the " Realm.

Now, let what his Majeſty ſaid at *Oxford* be compared with this, and let any man tell me whether the Parliament deſerved any commendation from my Author, for their having ſo much reſpect to the King, *as not particularly to complain of the great invaſion that was made upon their Liberty of Propoſing and Debating Laws, by his telling them before-hand what things they ſhould meddle with, and what things no reaſon they could offer ſhould perſuade him to conſent unto.* Pag. 27.

Feb. 24. 1592. 35 Eliz. *In that very Parliament I have mentioned, Mr.* Peter Wentworth *and Sir* Henry Bromley *delivered a Petition unto the Lord Keeper, therein desiring the Lords of the Upper House to be suppliants with them of the Lower House unto her Majesty, for entailing the Succession to the Crown; whereof a Bill was already drawn.*

Her Majesty was highly displeased therewith, after she knew it, as a matter contrary to her former streight Commandment, and charged the Council to call the Parties before them. Sir Thomas Henage *presently sent for them, and after speech with them, commanded them to forbear coming to the Parliament, and not to go out from their Lodgings,*

Prerogative of Parliaments, Pag. 56. *The next day, being Sunday, Mr.* Peter Wentworth *was sent prisoner to the Tower; Sir* Henry Bromley, *one Mr.* Richard Stephens, *and Mr.* Welch, *the other Knight for* Worcestershire, *were sent to the Fleet.* And Sir *Walter Rauleigh* tells us, *Wentworth* died in the Tower, tho this Motion was but supposed dangerous to the Queens Estate.

Yet here was no express Command against it, but only a general Command which I have recited; neither doth it appear that any disherison of any right Heir to the Crown was intended. And in this very Parliament one Mr. *Morris*, Attourney of the Court of Wards, bringing in a Bill against the abuses of the Bishops, as he pretended, *in Lawless Inquisitions, injurious Subscriptions, and binding Absolution;*

Feb. 28. 1592. *he was the next day sent for to Court, and committed unto Sir* John Forteseues *keeping. And upon both these the Queen sent this Message to the House by their Speaker.*

" It is in me, and my power, to call Parliaments, and " it is in my power to end and determine the same; it " is in my power to Assent or Dissent to any thing done in " Parliament.

The Calling of this Parliament was only that the Majesty of God might be more religiously served, and those that neglected this Service might be compelled by some sharper means

means to a more due Obedience, and a more true ſervice of God than there hath been hitherto uſed. And further, that the ſafety of her Majeſties Perſon and of this Realm might be by all means provided for againſt our great Enemies, the Pope and the King of Spain.

And accordingly in this Seſſion of Parliament was the ſharp Statute made againſt the Diſſenters, which was deſigned to have been repealed, when the Bill of Repeal was loſt in the Houſe of Lords.

Her Majeſties moſt excellent pleaſure being then delivered unto us by the Lord Keeper, it was not meant we ſhould meddle with Matters of State, *or in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*; (*for ſo her Majeſty termed them*) *ſhe wondered that any would be of ſo high Commandment to attempt* (*I uſe her own words*) *a thing contrary to that which ſhe had ſo expreſly forbidden, wherefore with this ſhe was highly diſpleaſed.*

And in all her Reign after durſt no man attempt to meddle with either of theſe things. Now I have taken the pains to tranſcribe all this out of the tranſactions of her Reign rather than of any other, becauſe ſhe was never accuſed of affecting Arbitrary Government, or Popery, but was beloved of all her Subjects whilſt ſhe lived, and her Memory is, and ever will be had in honour by all Engliſh men, and ſhe ought to be a pattern for all her Succeſſors.

And now let us hear our modeſt Vindicator. *But every man muſt be moved to hear it charged upon them as an unpardonable diſobedience, that they did not obſequiouſly ſubmit to that irregular command of not touching on the buſineſs of the Succeſſion. Shall two or three unknown Minions take upon them, like the Lords of the Articles of* Scotland *to preſcribe unto an Engliſh Parliament what things they ſhall treat of? Do they intend to have Parliaments,* inter inſtrumenta ſervitutis, *as the Romans had Kings in our Country? This would quickly be if what was then attempted had ſucceeded, and ſhould be ſo purſued hereafter, that Parliaments ſhould* Pag. 27.

be directed what they are to meddle with, and threatned if they do any other thing: For the loſs of Liberty of freedom of Debate in Parliament, will ſoon and certainly be followed by a general loſs of Liberty.

This is the right temper and Spirit of a good Commonwealth man, thus did your Fathers talk in the days of his Majeſties Father, till Priviledge of Parliament had eat up all the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Liberties of the Subjects, and delivered us over to ſlavery, poverty, and confuſion, ſo that the Tyrannical, Arbitrary, bloudy Government of *Oliver Cromwel* was thought a bleſſing to the Nation, in compariſon of theſe Parliamentary Inſtruments of ſlavery, and their Legions, which I hope this Generation will ſo well remember as never to ſet it up, or ſuffer it to be ſet up more in my days.

Pag. 28. My Author having told us in the next place, *That the King ought to diveſt himſelf of all private inclinations, and force his own affections to yield unto the Publick Concernments, and therefore his Parliaments ought to inform him impartially of that which tends to the good of thoſe they repreſent, without regard of perſonal paſſions, and might worthily be blamed if they did not believe that he would forgo them all for the ſafety of his People*; Concludes, *That therefore if in it ſelf it was lawful to propoſe a Bill for Excluding the Duke of* York *from the Crown, the doing it after ſuch an unwarrantable ſignification of his pleaſure would not make it otherwiſe.*

To which I reply, that Parliaments as Subjects are more bound to comply with the natural and reaſonable Affections and Paſſions of their Princes, than Princes are in the ſame Circumſtances with thoſe of their Subjects. And that in this caſe his Majeſties own Perſonal ſafety and intereſt was wrapt up in that of his Brother; for if he might be Excluded, another might be Depoſed on the ſame pretence, as *Coleman* ſaid truly enough. And tho it

ſhould

ſhould be granted that Parliaments ought to inform Princes, yet it is certain, they ought not to force them; they had informed the King in the two former Parliaments what they thought of this Affair, and his Majeſty had rejected their Advice, and in the beginning of this Parliament at *Oxford* had told them, *That what he had formerly, and ſo often declared touching the Succeſſion he could not depart from.* And after all this for them to enter again upon it in the very firſt place, looked like an intended force: And then tho the thing were lawful in it ſelf, it may be thought unreaſonable thus to purſue it; and Queen *Elizabeth* would have made them have felt the Effects of her reſentment for preſuming to be of ſo *high Commandment*, if ſhe had been in his Majeſties place.

In the next place we are told his Majeſties unuſual ſtiffneſs upon this occaſion, begins to be ſuſpected not to proceed from fondneſs to his Brother, much leſs from any thoughts of danger to the Engliſh Monarchy, by ſuch a Law, but from the influence of ſome few ill men upon his Royal mind, &c. Pag. 28.

Now let all the World judge betwixt the King and this Party; they grant the King has been heretofore compliant enough to their deſires; and then in the rudeſt Language that ſpight and ſcorn could dictate, conclude, againſt ſenſe and reaſon, that it was not fondneſs to his Brother, nor kindneſs to the Monarchy, but the ill influence of a few men that had thus diſpoſed him. A likely thing, that he which could give up a Brother, and be ſo unconcerned for his Crown, ſhould be ſo ſtupid rather than ſtiff as to venture all for a few ill men. *Creatures to the Duke, and Penſioners to* France, *wicked Wretches who have infected him with the fatal Notion, that the Intereſts of his People are not only diſtinct, but oppoſite to his.* Ibid. No words I can write are ſharp enough to reprove this Miſcreant, that thus rails againſt his and my Sovereign the Lords Anointed, and therefore to God Almighty I leave it.

He tells us in the next place, his Majesty doth not seem to doubt of his Power in Conjunction with his Parliament to Exclude his Brother. He very well knows this Power hath been often Exerted in the time of his Predecessors.

Yes, doubtless his Majesty hath read the English Story, and observed at the same time, that more Princes have been deposed by Pretended power of Parliament than Excluded; and he very well knows that if he shall yield that an Argument drawn from Example is valid, he will then stand upon slippery ground. He also knows that the right Heir was never put by but a good plenty of Miseries, Wars, and Calamities followed upon it; and he is able to foresee, that if the same should happen again, the French King may easily possess himself of these miserable Kingdoms, and therefore it is fairly probable love to his People as well as his Brother hath kept him from consenting.

Pag. 28. *The reasons he saith that his Majesty hath alledged are because it concerned him so near in Honour, Justice, and Conscience, not to do it.*

And are not these three powerful Arguments? But my Author can ridicule them, and turn them all against the King. *It is not* (saith he) *honourable for a Prince to be true and faithful to his Word and Oath? To keep and maintain the Religion and Laws Established?* Yes, who doth question it, but all this, and all that he hath said besides, may be done without Excluding his Brother, who would have just as much right (supposing the King dies without lawful Issue) to the Reversion, as his Majesty hath to the present Possession. And can his Majesty wrong him of that Right without a blemish to his Honour, Justice, and Conscience? Who will ever after dare to relie upon his Majesty if they once see him desert his own Brother?

Pag. 29. *But that which follows is amazing. All Obligations of Honour, Justice, and Conscience, are comprehended in a grateful return of such benefits as have been received, can his Majesty believe*

believe that he doth duly repay unto his Proteſtant Subjects, the kindneſs they ſhewed him, when they recalled him from a miſerable helpleſs Baniſhment, and with ſo much dutiful affection placed him in the Throne, enlarged his Revenue above what any of his Predeceſſors had enjoyed, and gave him vaſter Sums of Money in twenty years, than had been beſtowed upon all the Kings ſince William *the Firſt? Should he after all this deliver them up to be ruined by his Brother?*

It ſhould have been, Should he after all this deliver them up to be ruined by the Diſſenters: and the Faction that Murthered his Father, drew up an Oath of Abjuration of the whole Family of the *Stuarts*, hanged, plundered, murthered, ſequeſtred, and deſtroyed ſo many of his Loyal Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy? Sir, I am not ſo ill bred as to Catechiſe my Sovereign, but I think I may without offence ask the Whigs a few ſmall queſtions. Have you the impudence after all the Villanies you have done, to Uſurp the Loyalty that you never were guilty of? Was it not enough to baniſh your Sovereign, and keep him twelve years in that miſerable helpleſs condition, but you muſt reproach him too with it? Did he not pardon you when you had forfeited your Lives and all you had to his Juſtice by all the Laws of God and man? Muſt he once more put himſelf into your power that he may try whether you will uſe him as you did his Father? Have you not repined at his Reſtitution, endeavoured to Baniſh him the ſecond time by all the Arts imaginable? Have you not murmur'd at all that has been given him? Slandered that Parliament that gave it whilſt it ſate, and ſince it was diſſolved, laboured to repreſent it to the Nation as the worſt Parliament that ever ſate? Have not you, Sir, called them *Danby's* Penſioners, Mercenary Penſioners? *&c.* And can

The Lord Chancellor told the Parliament *May* 19. 1662. that they had well provided for the Crown by the Bill of the Militia, and the Act for the Additional Revenue, to their high Commendations. How froward and indiſpoſed ſoever many are at preſent, who finding ſuch obſtructions laid in their way to Mutiny and Sedition, uſe all the Artifice they can to perſuade the People that you have not been ſolicitous enough for their Liberty, nor tenacious enough for their profit, and wickedly labour to leſſen that reverence towards you, which ſure was never more due to any Parliament.

you

you ſhew any vaſt, or indeed competent Sums of Money given to the King ſince you know when? And after all this, have you the inſolence to call your ſelves Proteſtants, or own your ſelves Subjects? And expect the King ſhould, in pure gratitude for what you never did, lay all at your feet again? As for thoſe Proteſtant Subjects who, beſides all that you have falſely aſcribed to your ſelves, fought for him and his Father, they do not fear his Majeſties Brother would ruine them if he could, and therefore have by thouſands thanked his Majeſty for his care in preſerving the Succeſſion in its due and legal courſe of deſcent.

Pag. 30. In the next Paragraph my Author is very Politick, and tells us, *Our Anceſtors have been always more careful to preſerve the Government inviolable, than to favour any perſonal pretences, and have therein conformed themſelves to the practice of all other Nations, whoſe examples deſerve to be followed.*

That is, they have been more careful to preſerve the Monarchy it ſelf, and the Liberties of the Subject, than the due and legal Deſcent in the Succeſſion. This is certainly true. And they have paid well for neglecting the other; as is apparent to any body that has read the Hiſtory of *England*. I will inſtance only in the Wars betwixt the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *York*. *Richard* II. being depoſed and murthered, *Henry* IV. who had no Title, but was a brave Prince, was ſet up. But mark the Conſequence, before this Quarrel could be ended in *Boſworth* Field, there periſhed 80998 Private Souldiers, two Kings, one Prince, ten Dukes, two Marqueſſes, twenty one Earls, twenty ſeven Lords, two Vicounts, one Lord Prior, one Judge, one hundred thirty nine Knights, four hundred forty one Eſquires, and my Author knows not how many Gentlemen, in twelve Battels. The total, ſaith my Author, of all the perſons that have been ſlain is, 85628. Chriſtians, and moſt of them of this Nation. Is it

The continuation of the Hiſtory of *England* by *John Truſſel.*

fit

fit to run the Riſque of ſuffering all this over again?

As to his Examples of Princes that have been Excluded upon the account of Religion, or for other ſmaller matters, they prove nothing, but that ill things have been done, but ought they therefore to be reacted? As for his railing Accuſations brought againſt his Royal Highneſs, they deſerve ſo much the leſs conſideration becauſe he treats the King at that abominable rate he doth; of whoſe Clemency, Juſtice, and Compaſſion all *Europe* are Witneſſes.

Having concluded there muſt be a War; he ſaith, *Let it be under the Authority of Law, let it be againſt a Baniſhed Excluded Pretender. There is no fear of the Conſequence of ſuch a War. No true Engliſhman can joyn with him, or countenance his Uſurpation; after this Act, and for his Popiſh and Forein Adherents, they will neither be more provoked, nor more powerful by the paſſing of it.* Pag. 31.

This man all along ſuppoſeth that neither the Duke nor the King have any natural Hereditary Right to the Crown; but talketh as if it were meerly at the pleaſure of the People and their Repreſentatives to make what man they pleaſe King of *England*, ſuppoſing that a Son of an Emperour of *Germany*, or of a King of *Poland*, were paſſed by or Excluded, and ſhould enter a War for the gaining of that Crown, to which for want of an Election he had never any legal right, he might be ſtiled a Pretender or an Uſurper; but in an Hereditary Kingdom it can never be ſo, if according to the before cited opinion of K. *James*, no Act of Parliament can extinguiſh the Dukes Right, which God and Nature hath given him, in caſe the King ſhould die before his Royal Highneſs without lawful Iſſue, tho it may prevent his obtaining it. So that he can never be an Uſurper or Pretender till the *Monarchy* of *England* is declared to be Elective. And this may be thought to be one reaſon why his Majeſty ſhould never yield the point. And as for my Authors confidence

confidence in the ſucceſs of ſuch a War, it ſpeaks nothing but his earneſt deſire of one, rather than not to have his Will, and I hope the Nation will have no occaſion to prove him a falſe Prophet..

Pag. 31. *Nor will his Excluſion make it at all neceſſary to maintain a ſtanding Force, for preſerving the Government, and the peace of the Kingdom. The whole People will be an Army for that purpoſe, and every heart and hand will be prepared to maintain that ſo neceſſary, ſo much deſired Law.*

If all this were true, there would be no need of an Army indeed, but then there would alſo be as little need of an **Aſſociation** too, for I never heard of a Prince that was able to compel three whole Nations to ſubmit to him againſt all their Wills, and without Forein Aids. But, Sir, the Houſe of Commons thought the latter neceſſary, or elſe they would never have deſired that his Majeſty would be likewiſe *Graciouſly pleaſed to Aſſent to an Act whereby his Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects may be enabled to* Aſſociate *themſelves for the defence of his Majeſties Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the ſecurity of your Kingdoms.* This was thought as neceſſary as the Bill of Excluſion, and what kind of Aſſociation ſome men intended is well enough underſtood now by the whole Nation.

Addreſs of *Decemb.* 21. 1680.

As to his Recrimination upon the Miniſters for the two Armies and the Guards; let him ſet his heart at reſt, for the World is very well ſatisfied, the one were never intended to be kept up, and it is hoped the other (the Guards) will be ever formidable to ſuch Gentlemen, as my Author, who in kindneſs to the Queen of *Scots* Title, and the Bill of Excluſion, is, like a good Proteſtant, contented to inſinuate that Queen *Elizabeth* was a Baſtard, though born in Matrimony. For ſo ſhe muſt be, if what the Papiſts ſay of her having no other Right but only that of an Act of Parliament, by which *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was Excluded, be true.

In

In the next Paragraph my Author endeavours to face his Majesty down, *That nothing was intended by those other ways which were darkly and dubiously intimated in his Majesties Speech unto the Parliament at* Oxford, *and repeated in the Declaration; and he saith, that his Majesty in his wisdom could not but know that they signified nothing.* Pag. 32.

Now this is a strange way of proceeding with Princes, and would anger a private man. *The Regency signified nothing, the distinction betwixt the Kings Personal and Politick Capacity was unfeasible; the Pope might absolve him from all Oaths, as he did King* John, *and* Henry III. *and it would be more fatal to us when Religion is concerned, which was not then in question. His Confessor would excite him against us, and he who has made use of all the Power he has been intrusted with hitherto for our destruction,* (witness his Naval Wars against the Dutch) *would certainly Elude all Methods but the Bill of Exclusion, and if it were otherwise, there was no hopes of having any fruit of any Expedient without a War; and to be obliged to swear Allegiance to a Popish Prince, to own his Title, to acknowledge him supreme Head of the Church, and Defender of the Faith, seems* (says my Author) *a strange way of entitling our selves to fight with him.* Pag. 33.

It doth so; and therefore all those that are resolved on a War will I suppose never do it. But are all these Titles annexed to the Crown as Protestant, or as imperial and subject to none but God? Did they belong to *Henry* VIII. or did they not? And supposing no Expedient should be used, would not the Number, Constancy, and Resolution of the English Nation, and Protestants in it, preserve the Religion in one Prince's Reign, tho of a different Religion, without a War?

The Expedient propounded by his Majesty, that if means could be found, *That in case of a Popish Successor, the Administration of the Government might remain in Protestant hands,* whether it be feasible or no, shews an inclination in

his Majeſty to ſubmit to any thing but what will ruine both him and his Brother, as the Bill of Excluſion, backed with ſuch an Aſſociation, as was lately found, certainly will. In ſhort, this Caſe is beſet with ſo many and great difficulties that it baffles all humane wit and underſtanding to provide ſuch an Expedient for it, as may be ſecure and ſatisfie; and therefore when all is done that can be done, it muſt be left to God Almighty, who only can, and will determine it.

Having denied the charge in the Declaration, *That there was reaſon to believe that the Parliament would have paſſed further to attempt ſome other great and important changes even at preſent*, and according to his wont, ſchooled the King; and told the Miniſters, *That they hate Parliaments, becauſe their Crimes are ſuch that they have reaſon to fear them.* He relents a little, and tells us, if they (*the Miniſters*) by that expreſſion meant, *That the Parliament would have beſought the King that the Duke might no longer have the Government in his hands.* This is a little hard to be underſtood, the Duke not being then in *England.* 2. *That his Dependants* (thoſe that had voted againſt the Bill) *ſhould no longer preſide in His Councils, no longer poſſeſs all the great Truſts and Offices in the Kingdom.* 3. *That our Ports, our Garriſons, and our Fleets ſhould be no longer governed by ſuch as are at his devotion.* 4. *That Characters of Honour and Favour ſhould be no longer placed on men that the Wiſdom of the Nation* (the Houſe of Commons without the Lords, for they have it ſeems lately got a Patent to Monopolize all the Wiſdom of the Nation) *hath judged to be favourers of Popery, or Penſioners of* France. *Theſe are great and important Changes, but ſuch as it becomes Engliſhmen to believe were deſigned by that Parliament, and ſuch as will be deſigned and preſt by every Parliament, and ſuch as the People will ever pray may find ſucceſs with the King; without theſe Changes* (and the Aſſociation forgotten by my Author)

Pag. 34.

Author) *the Bill of Excluſion would only provoke, not diſarm our Enemies. Nay, the very money which we muſt have paid for it, would have been made uſe of to ſecure and haſten the Duke's return upon us.*

Now this was all perhaps was meant by that paſſage in the Declaration, and the Conſequences of theſe things are ſuch that no beſeeching will ever obtain them, till his Majeſty is weary of all he hath, and therefore it well becomes all Engliſh men, that do not deſign another Rebellion, for time to come to deſign, and pray: and our Parliaments to preſs for ſome other things that may be fitter for them to ask, and his Majeſty to grant. I conclude with the Wiſemans Advice, *My Son fear thou the Lord and the King: and meddle not with them that are given to change. Eſpecially to ſuch important changes.*

In plain Engliſh there muſt be a *Change*, we muſt neither have Popiſh Wife, nor Popiſh Favourite, nor Popiſh Miſtris, nor Popiſh Counſellor at Court, nor any new Convert. We want a Government, and a Prince that we may truſt, *&c. A Speech of a Noble Peer of the Realm.*

We are now come to the conſideration of that only fault which was peculiar to the Parliament at Oxford, *and that was their behaviour in relation to the buſineſs of* Fitz-Harris, *the Declaration ſays, He was impeached of High Treaſon by the Commons, and they had cauſe to think his Treaſons to be of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that they well deſerved an examination in Parliament.* Pag. 35.

We ſhall by and by come to examine the reaſons that made them think ſo, and in the interim it is worth the while to recite the very words of the Declaration which are theſe:

"The buſineſs of *Fitz-Harris*, who was impeached by "the Houſe of Commons of High Treaſon, and by the "Houſe of Lords referred to the ordinary courſe of Law, "was on the ſudden carried on to that extremity, by the "Votes which the Commons paſſed on *March* 26. laſt, that there was no poſſibility left of a Reconciliation.

The Votes are theſe:

" *Reſolved*, That it is the undoubted Right of the Com-
" mons in Parliament aſſembled, to impeach before the
" Lords in Parliament, any Peer or Commoner, for Trea-
" ſon, or any other Crime or Miſdemeanor: And that the
" refuſal to proceed in Parliament upon ſuch impeachment,
" is a denial of Juſtice, and a Violation of the Conſtituti-
" ons of Parliaments.

" *Reſolved*, That in the caſe of *Edward Fitz-Harris*, who
" by the Commons hath been impeached of High Treaſon
" before the Lords, with a Declaration, that in convenient
" time they would bring up the Articles againſt him for the
" Lords to Reſolve, that the ſaid *Fitz-Harris* ſhould be
" proceeded with according to the courſe of Common Law,
" and not by way of impeachment at this time, is a denial
" of Juſtice, and a violation of the Conſtitutions of Par-
" liaments, and an obſtruction to the further diſcovery of
" the Popiſh Plot, and of great danger to his Majeſties Per-
" ſon, and the Proteſtant Religion.

" *Reſolved*, That for any inferiour Court to proceed
" againſt *Edward Fitz-Harris*, or any other perſon lying
" under an impeachment in Parliament, for the ſame Crimes
" he or they ſtand impeached, is a high breach of the Pri-
" viledge of Parliament.

Pag. 35. And now let us follow my Authors account of *Fitz-Harris* his buſineſs, *who, he ſays truly, was a known Iriſh Papiſt, and it appeared by the Informations given in the Houſe, he was made uſe of by ſome very great perſons to ſet up a Counterfeit Proteſtant Conſpiracy, and thereby not only to drown the noiſe of the Popiſh Plot, but to take off the Heads of the moſt eminent of thoſe who refuſed to bow their knees to* Baal, *&c. That this might look as unlike a Popiſh Deſign* (and be the better received by the people) *as was poſſible, they framed a libel full of the moſt bitter invectives againſt Popery*

Oates tells us, theſe were the Proteſting Lords, and the Leading men in the Houſe of Commons. *Trial*, pag. 28.

Popery and the Duke of York, *it carried as much ſeeming zeal for the Proteſtant Religion as* Colemans *Declaration, and as much care and concern for our Laws, as the penners of this Declaration would ſeem to have: But it was alſo filled with the moſt ſubtile inſinuations, and the ſharpeſt expreſſions againſt his Majeſty that could be invented, and with direct and paſſionate incitements to Rebellion.*

This Paper, as it appears by the account of it which was given at *Fitz-Harris* his Trial, was penn'd in the ſtile, and juſt like the Libels the ſober Proteſtants daily Print, and perhaps not much unlike our modeſt Vindicator, in the main, but had ſome things in it which they whiſper for the preſent, becauſe it is dangerous Printing of them. And ſome other things plainly ſpoken, which the other Party have a way to inſinuate craftily, ſo that it may be underſtood, and yet not hazard their ſweet lives. *Trial*, pag. 21.

This, ſaith my Author, *was to be conveyed by unknown Meſſengers* (*Oates* ſays by the Penny Poſt) *to their hands who were to be betrayed, and then they were to be ſeized upon, and thoſe Libels found about them, were to be a Confirmation of the truth of a Rebellion, which they had provided Witneſſes to ſwear was deſigned by the* Proteſtants, *and had before prepared men to believe by Private Whiſpers. And the credit of this Plot ſhould no doubt have been ſoon confirmed by ſpeedy Juſtice done upon the pretended Criminals.* Pag. 35.

And now it is time to give a little better account of this Libel, than perhaps the Author has given, it was penned by one Mr. *Everard*, by the direction of *Fitz-Harris*, he fearing he might be ſhamm'd, and that it was deſigned ſo, called in one Mr. *Smith*, and Sir *William Waller* into the buſineſs, that ſo he might clear himſelf of it, and trappan *Fitz-Harris*. Theſe two Gentlemen heard *Fitz-Harris* dictate the heads of it to *Everard*, and one of them heard him approve of it, when it was delivered to him. Mr. *Everard* was

Pag. 24. was promiſed his reward for all this by the French Embaſſadour, as Sir *William Waller* ſwears in the Trial he heard *Fitz-Harris* ſay; and upon Sir *William Wallers* giving the King an account of it, *Fitz-Harris* was taken with the Libel about him.

Feb. 27. Being taken and committed to *Newgate*, he was examined the tenth day of *March* by Sir *Robert Clayton*, and Sir *George Treby*, There he ſpeaks not one word of the Author of the Libel. But being thus impriſoned, he found there was no way to ſave his life, but to curry favour with thoſe eminent men that had never bowed the knee to *Baal*. So that Story was ſet up, which he was not able to prove one Syllable of at his Trial, but however it was eaſily enough believed by them, who love to make the King and Court as odious as they can, as well as the Papiſts.

Said *Colledge*, If you do not joyn with *Fitz-Harris*, and charge the King home, you are the baſeſt fellow in the world, *&c. Colledge* Trial, pag. 30.

Pag. 36. My Author goes on. *The heinous nature of the Crime, and the greatneſs of the Perſons ſuppoſed to be concerned, deſerved an extraordinary Examination, which a Jury, who were only to enquire whether* Fitz-Harris *was guilty of framing that Libel, could never make; and the Commons believed none but the Parliament was big enough to go through with it.*

The Trial of this Perſon being extant, I muſt for brevity refer my Reader to it; and I ſee not how it had been poſſible for the Parliament to have ſifted that buſineſs of *Fitz-Harris* his being put upon this by the Court, to ruine the eminent men, more narrowly than it was at the Trial, and there was not one ſyllable proved by any of the Witneſſes he produced, which were many, and perſons of great worth, only Mr. *Oates* ſaid, he heard *Everard* ſay ſome ſuch thing, which *Everard* again denied upon his Oath. And Sir *William Waller* owned he had heard the King was diſcontented at his troubling him with this buſineſs; but Sir *William Waller*, Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Everard* proved it poſitively upon him that he had ordered the drawing of that

that Libel, had approved of it when it was drawn, and amended ſome words in it with his own hands. And now after all this to lay the Crime upon the Court, upon the ſuggeſtion of the Malefactor, was ſuch a piece of Juſtice as never was attempted.

Nor did they (the Commons) *only fear the perverſion of Juſtice, but the miſapplication of Mercy too,* &c. *becauſe when* Fitz-Harris *was inclined to Repentance, and had begun a Confeſſion, to the ſurprize of the whole Nation, without any viſible cauſe, he was taken out of the lawful cuſtody of the Sheriffs, and ſhut up a cloſe priſoner in the Tower.* Pag. 36.

That he had not only begun, but gone through with a Confeſſion appears by a Printed Narrative, taken by two, which I think were both of the Houſe of Commons, one I am ſure was. And when notwithſtanding this, ſome eminent men began to tamper with him to turn all this upon the Court; then, and not before, was he taken out of the cuſtody of the Sheriffs, and put into the Tower, that they might not make an ill uſe of him to the Damage of the King and the Government.

The Commons had therefore no other way to be ſecure that the proſecution ſhould be effectual, the Judgment indifferent, and the Criminal out of all hopes of Pardon, (unleſs by an ingenuous Confeſſion he could engage both Houſes in a powerful mediation to his Majeſty in his behalf.) But by impeaching him they were ſure no pardon could ſtop their ſuit, tho the King might releaſe his own Proſecution by his Pardon. Ibid.

What need there was here of any further or more ingenuous Confeſſion that he ſhould make, than what he had made I cannot imagine; but we may gueſs it was meant, that if *Fitz-Harris* ſhould lay the blame of this Libel on the Court, and ſay it was deſigned to Trappan the eminent men, then they would try to get him pardoned, but if he did not do this, then he ſhould have been hanged without mercy.

Well,

Well, But what if the King would not have consented to the Pardon, which was to have been purchased with his dishonour? Then the Commons would not have proceeded with their impeachment, and the Consequence would have been (if the Lords had not rejected the Impeachment) that then no inferiour Court could have tried him, and so he should never have been tried.

So that it is plain, that if the Lords had not rejected this Impeachment, *it would*, as the King saith in the Declaration, *have been made use of to delay a Trial that We had directed against a profess'd Papist charged with Treasons against Us of an extraordinary nature: And certainly the House of Peers did themselves Right in refusing to give countenance to such a proceeding.*

Pag. 36, 37, 38, 39. Part of the 36, and all the 37, 38, 39, Pages are spent by my Author to prove that a Commoner may be tried by the Peers in Parliament upon an Impeachment of the Commons; in which matter I will have no Controversie with him because he may be in the right for ought I know. And

Pag. 40. I have as little to say to him, whether such Commoners as are tried there ought to have any Juries, or whether the Lords rejecting the Impeachment was, or only looked, like a denial of Justice. For it is plain, that as good justice might be had, and in this case was had, in the Kings Bench as could have been had before the Lords, and if *Fitz-Harris* had been acquitted there, then the Commons might afterwards have impeached him of any branch of Treason that was not; or could not have been tried in the Kings Bench; so that the pretence he makes that part of his Treasons were thought such as could only be adjudged in Parliament, is impertinent, for the remainder were apparently such as he ought to be hanged for, in an inferiour Court, and he could suffer but once, and the taking notice of the rest would have been impertinent.

I think I may modeſtly ſay this, that the impeachment of Commoners before the Lords is ſo extraordinary a way, that it would be uſed as little as is poſſible; but theſe Gentlemen were for nothing elſe, and *Thompſon*, *Sheridon*, *Verdon*, and the Lord knows how many more, were to have been thus proceeded againſt, tho they were not perſons of ſuch extraordinary degree or quality, but they might full as well have been tried in any other Court, and the Conſequence of this would have been, that neither the Lords nor Commons would have had any leiſure for any thing elſe but this.

Might it not be well retorted by the People, that it had been long a matter extremely ſenſible to them, that ſo many Prorogations, ſo many Diſſolutions, ſo many other Arts had been uſed to delay the Trials, which his Majeſty had often deſired and the Parliament prepared for, againſt the five profeſſed Popiſh Lords charged with Treaſons of an extraordinary nature. Pag. 41.

The King might if he had pleaſed have charged this upon the Commons too, that notwithſtanding the long time they had been impriſoned, yet the Commons would not go on with their Trials, that they might legally and regularly be diſcharged. The Impeachment of the Earl of *Danby* before they had tried theſe five Lords occaſioned the diſſolution of the Long Loyal Parliament. A Controverſie betwixt the Lords and the Commons about the Trial of the ſaid Earl of *Danby* broke the next Parliament. Then comes the ſecond ſhort *Weſtminſter* Parliament, and having tried only one of them, the Earl of *Stafford*, when all the World were in expectation they would have gone on, and have tried the other four, they fell upon the Excluſion Bill, and that being rejected by the Lords, they fell upon the Revenue, and ſeemingly Voted the King a * Bankrupt, *Jan.* 7. by declaring that no man ought to truſt him further than he

* Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſaith of a Parliament in *Henry* the Third's time, they put down the Purveyor of the Meat for the maintenance of his Houſe, as if the King had been a Bankrupt, and gave order that without ready Money he ſhou d not take up a Chicken. *Prerogative of Parliaments*, p. 15.

had ready money; nor lend him any, and Declared that ſeveral eminent men of the Privy Counſellors were favourers of Popery, and enemies to the King and Kingdom, and for which and the other things they were diſſolved; then comes that at *Oxford*, with the Votes I have recited, for which, and for inſiſting upon the Bill for Excluding the Duke of *York* they were diſſolved. Could none of theſe Parliaments have tried the Popiſh Lords without theſe things? Yes, doubtleſs they might, but they would not, but kept theſe Lords in the Tower, that whatever provocation they ſhould give the King to Diſſolve or Prorogue them, ſtill the clamour might be that it was to prevent their Trials. And I am fully perſuaded there are ſome men in *England* would almoſt chooſe to be hanged themſelves rather than be deprived of this glorious and popular pretence of inſenſing the People againſt the King and the Court.

Pag. 41. If there be no other Evidence of the Unparliamentary and mean Solicitations uſed to promote this pretended Rejection of the Commons Accuſation, than this ſcurvy Hint in my Author, which he acknowledgeth not fit to be remembred, tho he cannot forbear Printing it, I ſuppoſe it is but a ſmall part of the Nation that will be extremely ſenſible of it.

But yet however if their Impeachment had not been rejected, *Fitz-Harris had long ſince been executed, or deſerved mercy by a full diſcovery of theſe malicious deſigns againſt the King and People, and the ſecret Authors of them.* And that he would certainly have done to have ſaved his own life, and then we ſhould have had an opportunity to have made the World believe, *that the King did hire* Fitz-Harris *to raiſe a Rebellion againſt himſelf, to defame himſelf, and inſenſe the minds of the People againſt him, for thus he defamed the King at his Trial.* This was all he could do to merit a Pardon by, and this he did at his Trial,

Trial, p. 54.

Trial, but was able to produce no teſtimony to back it.

But this Trial occaſioned ſtrange talk in *Weſtminſter* Hall, and Queſtions were raiſed of a ſtrange nature that will never have a determination in any inferiour Court, but will *aſſuredly at one time or other have a further Examination.* Theſe queſtions were moved then by *Fitz-Harris* his Counſel, and need never be determined. Pag. 41.

By the Term in the Declaration of the Lords having done themſelves right by refuſing to admit the Impeachment, he hath diſcovered the Penman of the Declaration, and ſays, he has done himſelf and the Nation Right, and diſcovered himſelf by uſing his ordinary Phraſe upon this occaſion. Now I thought verily the next word would have been his Name; no, but ſtay you there, *The Perſon is well known without naming him, who always tells men they have done themſelves no right, when he is reſolved to do them none.* Now cannot I tell any more whom he means, by this private token than the man in the Moon, and if he had graciouſly vouchſafed to have whiſpered his name in my Ear, and I had known that he had uſually thus expreſſed himſelf, yet I ſhould ſtill be a little jealous ſome Frenchman or other might be the Author of it, becauſe my Author hath given full as good evidence, Page 5. to prove it was ſo. Pag. 42.

As for the Commons nothing (ſays my Author) *was carried on to extremity by them, nothing done but what was Parliamentary, they could not deſire a Conference till they had firſt ſtated their own Caſe, and aſſerted by Votes the matter which they were to maintain at a Conference.* Ibid.

This was done effectually in the firſt part of the firſt and ſecond Vote, without adding, *That the refuſal of the Lords to proceed in Parliament upon ſuch Impeachment, is a denial of Juſtice, and a violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments, and in the ſecond Vote, and an obſtruction to the further*

diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, and of great danger to his Majeſties Perſon, and the Proteſtant Religion.

Here the Declaration lays the ſtreſs of the buſineſs, and ſays, *That when either of the Houſes are ſo far tranſported as to paſs ſuch Votes concerning the proceedings of the other, without Conferences firſt had to examine upon what grounds ſuch proceedings are made, and how far they might be juſtified; this puts the Two Houſes out of a Capacity of Tranſacting buſineſs together, and conſequently is the greateſt violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments.* Now ſurely the Houſe of Commons might have aſſerted their Right without theſe Expreſſions, which muſt needs inſenſe the Lords, eſpecially when they were Printed, and ſpread over the whole Nation.

Pag. 42. *But the Houſe of Commons was ſo far from thinking themſelves to be out of a Capacity of Tranſacting with the Lords any further that they were preparing to ſend a Meſſage for a Conference to Accommodate this difference, at the very inſtant when the Black Rod called them to their diſſolution.*

But this it is very probable was not known to his Majeſty, ſo that it came too late to ſave them.

If every difference in Opinion and Vote ſhould put the Two Houſes out of a Capacity of tranſacting buſineſs together, every Parliament muſt be diſſolved as ſoon as called.

Now, Sir, I could never have thought that it is ſo uſual a thing for the Two Houſes to make ſuch Votes as theſe againſt each other; I am perſuaded the Lords would never have treated with the Commons if a Conference had been demanded till the Concluſions of the firſt and ſecond Vote had been recanted.

But the Miniſters promoted this difference between the Two Houſes, (what, did any of them dictate theſe Votes?) *and then broke the Parliament leſt it ſhould be compoſed.* And for this my Author gives you his own honeſt word over again in the next Page, and hopes no man will be ſo hard-hearted as not to believe him. But

But my Author hath another quarrel againſt the Miniſters, becauſe they cenſure theſe Votes of the Commons as the greateſt violation of the Conſtitution of Parliaments; *They ought certainly* (ſays my Author) *to have excepted the power which is here aſſumed of giving ſuch a Judgment, and Publiſhing ſuch a charge, as being not only the higheſt violation of the Conſtitution, but directly tending to the deſtruction of it.* Pag. 43.

Well then, I for my part will never undertake to defend them in it. Aut I have obſerved one thing in theſe debates, that the Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons are not much unlike the Power claimed by the Pope, which is to judge all men, and to be judged by no man. So that whatever they are pleaſed to call Priviledge of Parliament I am bound to believe is ſo, with an implicit faith: For theſe Priviledges of Parliament are known to none but thoſe that ſit in St. *Stephens* Chappel, and if a man ſit there twenty years, yet he ſhall be allowed to know no more of them the day after he is turned out than I do.

The Declaration mentions one ſort of men who are fond of their old beloved Commonwealth Principles, and others are angry at being diſappointed in deſigns they had to accompliſh their own ambition and greatneſs. Surely (ſays my Author) *if they know any ſuch perſons, the only way to have prevented the miſchiefs which they pretend to fear from them, had been to have diſcovered them, and ſuffered the Parliament to ſit to provide againſt the evils they would bring upon the Nation, by proſecuting them.* Ibid.

I cannot but fancy my Author ſmiled to himſelf when he made this pleaſant Propoſition.

In the next place my Author gives us a deſcription of men of Commonwealth Principles; he tells us, *They are men Paſſionately devoted to the publick good, and to the common ſervice of their Country, who believe that Kings were inſtituted for the good of the People, and Government ordained* Ibid.

for

for the ſake of thoſe that are to be governed, and therefore complain or grieve when it is uſed to contrary ends, and that wiſe and honeſt men will be proud to be ranked in this number.

Now, as favourably as he hath drawn it, I aſſure him, I for my part am none of the number; for tho I know that if there were no People, there could hardly have been Kings, and that one main end of Government was the good of thoſe that are to be governed; yet I believe that God Almighty had ſome reſpect for Princes and Governours, and did not deſign only the good of the People, but their good too; and tho I can grieve, yet I am not apt to complain when things go amiſs.

My Author in the next place ſpends a great deal of learning to prove, *That the word* **Commonwealth** *ſignifies the common good, in which ſenſe it hath been uſed by all good Authors*, &c. Now, this I will yield him, with all my heart, that till one thouſand ſix hundred and forty all the World thought that a good Commonwealth man and a good Subject were terms that might be promiſcuouſly and indifferently uſed; but the Author cannot be ignorant, that not long after the word *Commonwealth* was ſo wholly appropriated to an odious *Democracy* by the Rebels of the late times, whoſe uſurped Seal and Coyn bore the Image and Superſcription of the Beaſt, that it is no ways likely it ſhould ever recover its Primitive ſignification.

And I dare aſſure him, that many of the Engliſh Nation will never be pleaſed to find in Parliament ſuch men as have ſo great a kindneſs for the word, as implies a hankering after the thing it has obtained to ſignifie.

Pag. 44. *But if the Declaration* (ſays my Vindicator) *would intimate that there had been any deſign of ſetting up a Democratical Government, in oppoſition to our Legal Monarchy, it is a Calumny juſt of a piece with the other thing which the Penners of the Declaration have vented, in order to the laying upon others*

others the blame of a design to overthrow the Government, which only belongs to themselves.

Now, Sir, This is not the first time that his Majesty hath complained of a parcel of men who had such a design; and if you please we will inquire a little into the reason of it. That there was in the Nation a great number of men that had imbibed a Notion, that all other kinds of Governments but what had something of the Democratical form in them without a single Person, were Arbitrary and Tyrannical, I suppose will not be denied, that these men did not all of them expire when his Majesty landed from *Breda* is very probable, but his Majesty being setled, and all things running quite contrary to their Interest, as you have told us, may appear by comparing the Parliaments that were sent up in 1640. and 1660. these men were forced to seem more loyal than they were, that they might one day appear what they were.

There hath not been a Week (since *Venners* rising) in which there have not been Combinations and Conspiracies formed against his Majesties Person, and against the Peace of the Kingdom, &c. *Lord Chancellors Speech*, May 8. 1661.

Pag. 6.

Now, Sir, it is not to be expected they should openly declare for the Commonwealth of *England*, and desire *Charles Stuart* to march off, and give them their right, when blessed be God they have neither Men nor Money to back such an insolence with, but yet we may be allowed to guess at their Designs by their Actions, and if that may be allowed, the Penners of the Declaration were not the only men that thought there was then, and is now, some Democratical or Commonwealth designs against the very Monarchy driving on, and you must excuse me if I say the Calumny lies at your doors, get rid of it as well as you can.

It is strange how this word should so change its signification with us in twenty years. *All Monarchies in the world that are not purely Barbarous and Tyrannical have ever been called Commonwealths*, &c. Sir, I will grant more than

Pag. 44.

that,

that, that all without exception have by ſome men been ſo ſtiled, and produced good Authors for it. But yet we that had ſo lately like to have been ruined by the word, and men that were fond of it, ſhall ever have reaſon to hate them and it, and a leſs ſpace of years than twenty ſuch as paſſed betwixt 40. and 60. might be allowed to render a word hateful, which in ſtrict propriety ſignifies the *Publick Affairs of a People managed by many with equal Authority.* I could eaſily anſwer all you have brought to defend the word, but the caſe being plain, I will not trouble my ſelf or my Reader; and therefore *if you have no other Argument to prove men guilty of a fondneſs to Arbitrary Power than their averſion for this word, I ſhall never go about to contend with you.*

Tacitus in the end of the Reign of *Auguſtus* ſaith, *Senes plerique inter Bella Civium nati, quotuſquiſque reliquus qui Rempub. vidiſſet? igitur verſus Civitatis ſtatus, nihil uſquam priſci & integri moris: Omnis exuta æqualitate juſſa Principis aſpectare.* H. lib. 1. In which paſſage Monarchy is oppoſed to the ancient Liberty or Commonwealth.

No man can have a greater Veneration for Parliaments than I have, but then who are they that have diſordered things to that height they lately were? You ſay the Miniſters are the men, whom you repreſent as you uſe to do, with bitter reflections on his Majeſty, and not the Parliament; others ſay, it was ſuch men as your ſelf; and the caſe hath been by both Parties referred to the People, and they have by thouſands given their Verdicts againſt thoſe their Repreſentatives, which to me is a ſtrong Argument the caſe is not ſo difficult as you pretend, for I do not conceive it
Pag. 45. poſſible to delude (*ſo great a part of the*) People into an abhorrence of their own Repreſentatives, without their having given them juſt cauſe.

And if we look about us, we ſhall find thoſe who deſign a change, on either hand fomenting a miſunderſtanding between the King his Parliament and People, whilſt perſons who love the Legal Monarchy both out of Choice and Conſcience, are they who deſire the frequent and ſucceſsful meetings of the great Council of the Nation.

Sir,

Sir, if you durſt have ſpoken your mind plainly, I might poſſibly have thought this the only honeſt paſſage in this whole Book; but as it now ſtands it is to me apparent that you would not let your Conſcience in this paſſage give your Paſſion in all the reſt the lie.

Now, if I might interpret your meaning I ſhould gueſs it to be this, They that on the one hand pretend to maintain the Legal Monarchy, but do really intend to advance it into an abſolute form, without any dependence upon Parliaments, and they who pretend the ſame thing, but deſign to throw off the Monarchy, and put the whole Power into the hands of the People, *i. e. the Commonwealth Party*, are the men that have brought things into the diſorder they are now in. *Whilſt they who love the Legal Monarchy both out of Choice and Conſcience*, (amongſt which perſons I will ſubſcribe my name when occaſion requires,) *are they who deſire the frequent and ſucceſsful meetings of the Great Coucil.*

Now, Sir, here ſeems to be a little Juſtice in this, for as it were a high and flagrant piece of injuſtice to ſay that all that made up the Houſe of Commons in the two laſt Parliaments deſigned to ruine the Monarchy, and ſet up another Parliamentary Commonwealth of *England:* So it is the ſame notorious and baſe injuſtice in you to traduce the Miniſters in general, as you do throughout the whole Pamphlet, when as it is apparent enough, firſt, That his Majeſty never did intend to ſet up one Dram of Arbitrary Government. Secondly, That it is not poſſible for the Miniſters to do it without his conſent. Thirdly, That it is ſcarce poſſible for him and them to do it, if they had deſigned to do it, till there hath been another War. Fourthly, That never any conſiderable perſon, or number of perſons amongſt the Miniſters, did ever yet make one ſtep towards it. For all thoſe Acts that have been ſo baſely traduced are fairly defenſible. Thoſe that look worſt, the

See the Preface to the firſt part of the Addreſs to the Freemen, &c.

Tranſactions about 1671. and 72. not excepted, one of
Pag.19. which you your ſelf have excuſed, *viz.* the Poſtponing of all Payments to the Bankers out of the Exchequer: And the Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, though you
Pag.22. ſtile it *an Arbitrary Power aſſumed to ſuſpend Penal Laws, and ſay the whole Nation was juſtly alarmed upon it*; yet I believe ſhould his Majeſty do the ſame thing over again, thoſe that now make the greateſt noiſe againſt Arbitrary Power without cauſe, would willingly enough accept of it. And yet there is no reaſon that the preſent Miniſters ſhould bear the blame of theſe things, when they that promoted them are now, Sir, in your Intereſts.

And, Sir, that the meetings of the Great Council may be ſucceſsful as well as frequent, one of theſe things muſt be, that either the People change the Members of the Lower Houſe; or that thoſe Members change their Methods of Proceeding; and till this be done theſe meetings, how frequent ſoever, can never be ſucceſsful. For if things be carried in the next Convention as they were in the late Parliaments, neither can the King, neither will the Nation endure it; and for all our Threats you will find, when you come to bring it into Act, ſuch difficulties as I care not to foretel, tho I can foreſee them.

Pag.45. *As for the other ſort of Peeviſh men, of whom the Declaration gives us warning, who are angry at the diſappointment of their Ambitious Deſigns. If theſe words are intended to reflect on thoſe men of Honour and Conſcience, who being qualified for the higheſt imployments of State, have either left, or refuſed, or be removed from them becauſe they would not accept or retain them at the Price of ſelling their Country, and inſlaving Poſterity: and who are content to ſacrifice their Safety as well as their Intereſt for the Publick; and expoſe themſelves to the malice of the men in power, and to the daily Plots, Perjuries, and Subornations of the Papiſts. I ſay, if theſe are the Ambitious Men ſpoken of, the People will have conſidera-*

conſideration for what they ſay, and therefore it will be wiſdom to give ſuch men as theſe no occaſion to ſay they intend to lay aſide the uſe of Parliaments.

This your Appeal to the People hath ſpoiled all the fine things you had ſaid before, for ſuppoſing all the reſt had been true (as it is notoriouſly falſe) yet this making the People the Judges is a kind of attempt to ſeparate them from their Governours, and exaſperate them againſt the Government, from whence muſt ſpring as great inconveniences as thoſe you pretend to avoid; and therefore had I been one of theſe men, I would never have appealed to them; but to God and my own Conſcience, and have ſate ſtill till he had pronounced the Sentence in this World, or that which is to come. You know, Sir, the People are not able to examine any thing, but being once put into a rage by ſuch ſpecious Harangues as theſe are, ruſh into diſorder and confuſion, and take all that endeavour to quiet them for Enemies and Papiſts, and ſo the guilty eſcape, and the innocent are cut in pieces. And beſides all this, never was any diſorder in a Government rectified by the People, but by a greater and more fatal diſorder, as we had experience in the late times, and very often before.

But let the Event be what it will, you are reſolved to ſtir up the People to the utmoſt to revenge your caſe upon the Government; and to that purpoſe inſinuate there is a deſign to lay aſide the uſe of Parliaments: as if you ſhould have ſaid, Stand to your Arms, Gentlemen, againſt theſe Miniſters, for as they have laid us aſide, *men of Honour and Conſcience, becauſe we would not ſell our Country, and enſlave Poſterity*; ſo the next thing to be done is the laying aſide Parliaments, and you are the men that muſt by your conſideration of us prevent this great miſchief.

This was pretty well, but the next is excellent. *In good earneſt, the behaviour of the Miniſters of late gives but too juſt occaſions to ſay, that the uſe of Parliaments is already laid* Pag. 46.

aſide; for tho the King has own'd in ſo many of his Speeches and Declarations the great Danger of the Kingdom, and the neceſſity of the aid and counſel of Parliaments, he hath nevertheleſs been prevailed upon to diſſolve four in the ſpace of twenty ſix months without making proviſion by their Advice ſuitable to our dangers or wants.

My Author was ſenſible that the People might think that the former hint proceeded from Paſſion, or was not ſerious, or at leaſt the danger was not eminent; and he comes now nearer to them, and tells them in *good earneſt* they had but too juſt occaſions to ſay that Parliaments were already laid aſide as to any uſe of them; and he proved it too: Four had been diſſolved in twenty ſix months; but three of them were called in that time. And this is an odd ſort of laying them aſide to call as many in twenty ſix months as heretofore have been called in ſo many years. Well, but there was *no proviſion made by their Advice ſuitable to our Dangers or Wants.* The fault, ſays the Declaration, was in them, *The King was willing to have done any thing which would have conſiſted with the very being of the Government.* He paſſed every Bill that was tendred; connived ſo long at the proceedings of the laſt Parliament of *Weſtminſter*, that many men wondred, and ſome (that were neither Papiſts, nor Malefactors) murmured. And a grave man told the very Parliament, that he ſuſpected they were *permitted to ſit there, rather to deſtroy themſelves than to ſave their Country.* And now after all this is his Majeſty to bear the blame that *no proviſion was made by their Advice ſuitable to our wants and dangers.* Well, but the People, to whom my Gentleman is appealing, they will never undeſtand nor conſider theſe things, nor any thing elſe, and therefore my Gentleman did wiſely to make them the Judges, but for the honeſty of it, or the truth of any of this I have nothing to ſay.

Declaration.

Debates, p. 191.

Nor

Nor can we hope the Court will ever love any Parliament better than the first of those four, wherein they had so dearly purchased such a number of fast friends, men who having first sold themselves, would not stick to sell any thing after. And we may well suspect they mean very ill at Court, when their designs shockt such a Parliament. Pag. 46.

The business of the Pensioners hath been considered elsewhere, and need not here be repeated. Now, to me one of these things must be false, *viz.* that there was such a number of men who had so sold themselves: Or that the Court are such men as you, Sir, say they are. If these men had sold themselves, why did they not go on with the bargain? If the Court had such an interest in them, and such designs upon them and us, why did it part with them? *Especially when the Ministers knew they lost thereby a constant Revenue of extraordinary Supplies*, as you say they did, and I may say they have had little enough since. Oh, the Reason was, *they began in good earnest to examine what was done, and what was doing.* And therefore they were pack'd away. Well, the matter was not great, they were a company of *Pensioners, men that had sold themselves, and would not stick to sell any thing after.* And, Sir, if it were so, the Nation has no reason to complain of the Court for that, and I hope I too shall be excused if I have dropt a few less respective words of the three Parliaments that have since followed; for they are not better, nor more sacred than this, of which many of the Lord Chancellors have given high Encomiums, my Lord of *Shaftsbury* not excepted. Address to the Freemen, *p.* 39, *part.* 2.

Now let my Reader reflect on all this seriously, and tell me if any person, even *Fitz-Harris* himself, could possibly write *any thing worse than this; and which tended more to heighten the resentments of the Nation, and put the People into disorder and confusion.* The most direct and passionate incitements to rebellion he used, are not more likely to stir them, than our Authors warm and earnest applications on the

* Speech to the Parliament. *Feb.* 5. 1672.

Pag. 35.

the behalf of theſe Ambitious men, as I perceive the Declaration rightly ſtiles them, for none but ſuch would ever deſire to ſee their Country imbroyled, and to that end appeal to the People. And ſuppoſing the People to be well
Pag. 46. diſpoſed that way, *it would be no wonder that the Miniſters dare not ſuffer a Parliament now to ſit*, till the People are in a better temper to chuſe one; but then, Sir, this is owing to ſuch men as you, and ſuch Books as yours, and you muſt anſwer for it.

Ibid. *But we have gained at leaſt this one point by the Declaration, that it is own'd to us, That Parliaments are the beſt Methods for healing the diſtempers of the Kingdom, and the only means to preſerve the Monarchy in Credit both at home and abroad. Own'd by theſe very men who have ſo maliciouſly rendered many former Parliaments ineffectual, and by this Declaration have done their utmoſt to make thoſe which are to come as fruitleſs, and thereby have confeſſed that they have no concern for* healing the diſtempers of the Kingdom, and preſerving the credit of the Monarchy, *which is in effect to acknowledge themſelves to be what the Commons called them*, Enemies to the King and Kingdom.

Juſt before, Sir, you had been proving them deſigning to lay all uſe of Parliaments aſide, and now you bring them in owning what will certainly ruine that deſign; not long before that you had been convicting them of a deſign of making the Monarchy Arbitrary and abſolute, and now they are unconcerned for the very Credit of the Monarchy. Are you in your right Wits? Do you think thus to prove them Enemies to the King and Kingdom? Why muſt thoſe Parliaments that are to come be as fruitleſs as thoſe that are paſt? The Miniſters may be changed, or the People may change, or the very Parliament men may change; and time may by Gods grace have ſtrange effects. And in the mean time his Majeſty is not in ſuch diſmal wants of a Parliament, but he can ſtay, and better none than a bad one,

a Rending instead of a Healing Parliament. And in the interim his Majesties good Subjects can rely as securely upon his Royal Declaration that he intends not to lay aside the use of Parliaments, as if there were one now actually sitting at *Westminster*.

However we rejoyce, that his Majesty seems resolved to have frequent Parliaments, and hope he will be just to himself and us, by continuing constant to this Resolution. Yet we cannot but doubt in some degree when we remember the Speech made January 26. 1679. *to both Houses, wherein he told them, that he was* unalterably of an Opinion, that long intervals of Parliaments were absolutely necessary for composing and quieting the minds of the People. *Therefore which we ought rather to believe the Speech or the Declaration, or which is likely to last longest, a* Resolution, *or an* unalterable Opinion, *is a matter too nice for any but Court Criticks to decide. The effectual performance of the last part of the promise will give us assurance of the first.* Pag. 47.

When, or where this Speech was spoken by his Majesty I cannot devise, for at the time assigned there could be none. The first short Parliament was Prorogued *May* 27. 1679. And the second met not till *October* 21. 1680. and was Prorogued the tenth of *January* following. I have read over all his Majesties Speeches too about that time, and I find not one tittle in them to this purpose.

But if there ever were any such Speech spoken (for I will not be positive there was not) it is fairly reconcileable with the very words of the Declaration, for the Statute made in his Majesties Reign calls Triennial Parliaments, *A frequent calling, assembling and holding of Parliaments*, which yet is a very long Interval in comparison of the time his Majesty hath hitherto interposed betwixt the Dissolving or Proroguing of one Parliament and the sitting of another; so that the matter was not so nice but it might have been deen determined by a meaner Critick than our Author, who hath 17 Car. 2. c. 1.

hath ſhewn his great skill in the French Tongue in his
Pag. 5. learned Remarques on the Phraſe, it is a matter extremely ſenſible to us: And in the Latine upon the word *Republick*
Pag. 43, 44, or Commonwealth. If he had not from hence ſought an occaſion to call his Majeſties Fidelity in queſtion, which tho it may become a Republican, is very indecent in a good Subject.

Pag. 47. *When we ſee the real fruits of theſe utmoſt endeavours to extirpate Popery out of Parliament; when we ſee the Duke of* York *no longer firſt Miniſter, or rather Protector of theſe Kingdoms; and his Creatures no longer to have the whole direction of Affairs; when we ſee that love to our Religion and Laws is no longer a Crime at Court, no longer a fore-runner of being diſgraced and removed from all Offices and Imployments in their Power.*

That is, when the Duke of *York* is ruined, and not only his Popiſh, but his Church of *England* Creatures, who have ſhewn themſelves ſuch by Voting againſt the Bill of Excluſion be laid aſide. When *our Religion*, (which no man knows what it is) and that part of the *Laws* which we skulk behind now, to ruine all the reſt, and the King and Kingdom to boot, ſhall not hinder our Preferment whatever we do or ſay.

Ibid. *When the word* Loyal (*which is faithful to the Law*) *ſhall be reſtored to its own meaning, and no longer ſignifie one who is for ſubverting the Laws.*

That is, when men may ſafely pretend ſo much reſpect to the Laws, that they may affront his Majeſty who is the Fountain of all Laws, and the Protector of them, and us by them; when the word Loyal ſhall have no other relation to his Majeſty, than the ſame word (if in uſe there) hath in *Venice*, when ſpoken concerning their Duke.

When we ſee the Commiſſions filled with hearty Proteſtants, (*that is, with Whigs and Republicans*) and the

Laws

Laws executed in good earneſt againſt the Papiſts, (*and the Diſſenters paſſed by unpuniſhed.*) The Diſcoverers of the Plot countenanced, or at leaſt heard, and ſuffered to give their Evidence, (*except when they make bold with our ſelves, and ſuch as* Colledge, *and* Fitz-Harris, *and the Aſſociation-men, in which caſes they ought neither to be heard, nor believed.*) The Courts of Juſtice ſteady, and not avowing a juriſdiction one day which they diſown the next, (*but juſt ſuch as they were in the late times.*) When we ſee no more Grand-Juries diſcharged leſt they ſhould hear Witneſſes; nor Witneſſes hurried away leſt they ſhould inform Grand-Juries, (*tho it were againſt his Majeſty, and when all Grand-Juries are of the Family of* Ignoramus *the Lawyer, and will find according to their Conſcience, tho againſt both their Oath and their Evidence, eſpecially when a* Precious *man is in jeopardy to be hanged for ſomething done or ſaid againſt the King*) When we ſee no more inſtruments from Court labouring to raiſe jealouſies of (*Aſſociating Petitioning*) Proteſtants, (*who have a Patent from heaven to retail all the fears and jealouſies that ever ſhall from henceforward be put off in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and in all other his Majeſties Dominions and Countries whatſoever. And to that purpoſe have erected ſeveral Mints for the Coining of them in* London, *and the parts adjacent, and do maintain ſeveral Preſſes, and a great many Intelligencers to collect and diſperſe the ſame for the benefit of his Majeſties diſcontented Subjects, who receive much comfort by the worſt and falſeſt of them, and hope to have juſt ſuch another harveſt in the end, as they reaped from the ſame Seed in and about the years* 1640, 41, 42, *and ſo on till* 1660.) When we ſee ſome regard had to Proteſtants abroad, (*tho his Majeſty ſhould be, by our defaults, brought into ſuch ſtreits as hardly to be able to maintain the Government at home.*) When we obſerve ſomewhat elſe to be meant by *Governing according to Law*, than barely to put them in execution againſt

Diſſenters, (*in whom our ſtrength againſt the Government doth chiefly conſiſt*) the Laws made againſt Papiſts. (*In which number we deſire the Church of* England *men, that is, all that ſtick to the Religion by Law Eſtabliſhed, may be included; and*) then we ſhall promiſe our ſelves not only frequent Parliaments, (*but everlaſting ones*) and all the bleſſed effects of purſuing Parliamentary Councils, the Extirpation of Popery, (*and Prelacy,*) the redreſs of Grievances, the flouriſhing of Laws, and the perfect reſtoring the Monarchy to the credit (*which it had in* 1658, *and* 59) both at home and abroad. There needs no time to open the Eyes of his Majeſties good Subjects (*the Whigs,*) and their hearts are ready prepared to meet him in Parliament, in order to perfect all theſe good Settlements and Peace (*which are*) now wanting in Church and State.

Colledges Trial, p. 18. 21.

Pag. 48. *But whilſt there are ſo many little Emiſſaries imployed to ſow and encreaſe diviſions in the Nation, as if the Miniſters had a mind to make his Majeſty head of a Faction, and joyn himſelf to one Party in the Kingdom, who has a juſt right of Governing all,* (*which* Thuanus lib. 28. *ſays was the notorious Folly, and occaſioned the deſtruction of his great-Grandmother* Mary *Queen of* Scots) *whilſt we ſee the ſame differences Promoted induſtriouſly by the Court, which gave the Riſe and Progreſs to the late troubles, and which were once thought fit to be buried in an Act of Oblivion.*

What is meant by the little Emiſſaries here I know not, nor will I gueſs. Nor did I ever obſerve the Miniſters had a mind to make his Majeſty the Head of a Faction, which your Author much blames in *Henry* III. of *France* too, when he ſuffered the Holy League, the Prototype of the Aſſociation, to be ſet afoot, and propagated ſo far before he took notice of it, that he was forced at laſt to attempt to make himſelf the Head of it, which was properly a Faction combined by an Oath againſt the Right Heir to the Crown, and a part of the Natural Subjects of *France*; on pretence

pretence of Religion for the Excluſion of the firſt, and deſtruction of the latter, without, and againſt the conſent of the King; which cauſed a Rebellion in *France*, the deſtruction of the King, a ſooner Succeſſion of *Henry* IV. the right Heir, (upon changing his Religion) and if God had not prevented it, had betrayed *France* into the hands of the Spaniards, or Cantoned it into ſmall Principalities. Now, this is properly to make a Prince the head of a Faction without conſideration of the Riſe of our late Troubles; which ſprung from ſuch another League, but to countenance a Loyal Party more than a Rebellious one is not ſo, and whatever effect it had in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, his Majeſties Grandmother, ſeems the only way now to ſave *England*, and prevent the need of another Act of Oblivion and Indemnity for all thoſe Crimes that were pardoned by his Majeſty, but never repented of by them that acted them.

Whilſt we ſee then the Popiſh Intereſt ſo plainly countenanced, which was then done with caution, when every pretence of Prerogative is ſtrained to the utmoſt height, when Parliaments are uſed with contempt and indignity, and their Judicature, and all their higheſt Priviledges brought in queſtion in inferiour Courts, we have but too good reaſon to believe tho every Loyal and good man does, yet the Miniſters and Favourites do but little conſider the Riſe and Progreſs of the late troubles, and have little deſire or care to preſerve their Country from a relapſe. Pag. 48.

All this is Party-per-pale a juſtification of the laſt, and an Exhortation to another Rebellion, upon the ſelf-ſame falſe pretences only a little aggravated, becauſe the People are more ſlow to a new Rebellion than they were to the laſt.

And who (the Miniſters) *as they never yet ſhewed regard to Religion, Liberty, or Property, ſo they would be little concerned to ſee the Monarchy ſhaken off, if they might eſcape* Ibid.

the Vengeance of Publick Juſtice due to them for ſo long a courſe of Pernicious Counſels, and for Crowning all the reſt of their faults by thus reflecting upon that High Court, before which we do not doubt but we ſhall ſee them one day brought to Judgment.

Sir, I ſuppoſe my Reader is very well informed by this time that your Pen is no ſlander, and I aſſure you there is ſome hopes of ſeeing your Party one day brought in Judgment for all your ill Courſes which have ſo much diſhonoured Parliaments, and by theſe repeated Threats endeavoured to make them *Odious* as well as *Dreadful* to ſo many who are Loyal (not in your hide-bound Notion, but) in the good old Chriſtian acceptation of the word, in the affection of their Souls, of which humane Laws can take no notice, and that not to the Law which is nonſenſe, but to the King. But, Sir, how can you be ſo poſitive in your Menaces, who in the Page before were in ſome degree of doubt there might be a long interval of Parliaments, and ſo you may not ſee this One deſirable day; but may happen to be brought to Judgment in the interim before a higher Court for all your ſlanders and defamations of your Sovereign the Lords Anointed?

Redde Reverentiam Præſato & Obedientiam quarum altera Cordis, altera Corporis eſt. Nec enim ſufficit exterius obtemperare majoribus noſtris, niſi ex intimo Cordis Affectu ſublimiter ſentiamus de iis. S. Bernard. Serm. 3. de Advent. This internal reverence due to the Sacred Majeſty of our Kings, above all other Superiours whatſoever is that which we expreſs by the word **Loyalty.**

Concluſion. And now, Sir, I have taken the ſame liberty in relation to you which you took with leſs modeſty and reaſon againſt all the Miniſters; and if you pleaſe you *may reply*, and for ought I know *the Preſs is as open for you as me*, and I had not taken all this pains but to ſhew the World, *your ſheets are as weak, and as full of Errors; as of Malice* againſt the Miniſters in pretence, but againſt his Majeſty in good earneſt. And if you had been pleaſed to have uſed the name of Evil *Counſellors inſtead* of Miniſters, it would have been more apparent what you deſigned, and I do not

in

in the leaſt queſtion but there are very many Perſons in his Majeſties Dominions who are not only of *true Engliſh courage*, but *of greater intellectuals* than to be Cajoled by ſuch a Pamphlet as yours into an ill opinion of the King, his Miniſters, or the Declaration, of which number in every reſpect I do acknowledge my ſelf to be one of the meaneſt.

POSTSCRIPT.

THe Vindicator *Pag.* 43. of his Book hath concluded his Character of a Commonwealth man and his Principles, with this Expreſſion, that *Every wiſe and honeſt man will be proud to be ranked in that number*, perhaps yet all of them will not be of the ſame opinion when they have read that which follows, which I dare preſume to ſay is more truly drawn.

He is a great Admirer of the collective body of Proteſtants as it conſiſts of a hundred and fifty Sects, for any one of which, diſtinctly conſidered, he has juſt as much veneration as I have for the Muſulmen. He divides himſelf ſo exactly betwixt the Church and a Conventicle, that he doth not know to which he belongs, and would gladly be excuſed from the trouble of going to either, if it were poſſible to beguile the People without a pretence to Religion and Devotion. Religion.

He treats his Prince as the Souldiers did our Saviour, firſt Crowns him with Thorns, and then kneels before him; and mixes his ſubmiſſions and reproaches ſo equally that no man can tell which is the principal ingredient, and he intends to crucifie him too when it is ſafe to conclude the ſport. Loyalty.

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Laws. He is ever talking of the Laws, and hath liſted a parcel of them to take his part againſt all the reſt, and with theſe, and his other Auxiliaries, and **Ignoramus Juries** he hopes to prevail. And then the Book of *Statutes* ſhall again be reformed into a Packet of *Votes* and *Ordinances*.

The Republicans are every day calling in the Aid of the Law that they may overthrow the Law, which they know to be their irreconcilable enemy. *Lord Chancellors Speech*, May 19. 1662.

Monarchy. He hates nothing ſo heartily as he doth Monarchy and Majeſty; and thinks that as Princes were inſtituted for the good of their People, ſo they ought to be ſacrificed to it too, and in order to it he Crowns them firſt with Garlands; and then lays all the ſins and follies of the People upon their Heads, and is in great pain for a Knife or an Ax to finiſh the Attonement.

Popery. The next thing he hates is Popery, of which he hath no more true and determinate Notion than he had of the number of the Hairs of his head, nor ever took more care to inform himſelf of the one than the other; and the reaſon is becauſe his Ignorance will excuſe him if he calls that Popery to morrow, which was good ſound Proteſtantaniſm three days agone.

Oaths. He takes Oaths not to bind, but looſe him (as men do *Alloways* and *Rubarb*,) for the Evacuation of ſuſpicion, and they have uſually the ſame effect upon him, only they operate croſs-ways, and purge out all his natural good humours too, and leave all the bad ones behind them.

Clergy. He pronounceth of a Clergy man at firſt ſight by his Habit, all that wear Caſſocks are drunkards, and Popiſhly affected, the Cloak-men are all ſober Proteſtants.

Converſation. He is ſomething ſhie of a Stranger, and therefore firſt Pumps a man before he opens himſelf; if he finds him Loyal, he is ſo too, but not without ſome diſſatisfaction. If the Party be of his own ſide, then he cheriſheth his malice and ſpite againſt the Government, by communicating his own to him. If the Company happen to be mixt, then he hath a

Set

Set of Canting Language, which ſignifies quite different things to the different parts of the Company, as for inſtance, Popery ſignifies the Church of *England* to one Party, and Arbitrary Government, Monarchy to the other Party quite another thing.

Next the King he hates moſt a Wiſe, Loyal, States-man; and becauſe he knows it is not yet ſafe to attack the Maſter, he takes care to repreſent all his Servants as Knaves and Traytors, French Penſioners, and Popiſhly affected, for he knows that if the People can once generally be brought to think the Court a Den of Thieves, the Maſter of the Family, that chuſeth and employeth them, muſt anſwer for their miſdemeanors, as well as they muſt for his. Miniſters.

C'eſt, à un Prince à regler les Courtiſans, dautant qu'on luy impute tous leurs diſorders, & qu'on preſume quand ils en font que c'eſt luy meſme qui les commet, parce qu'il eſt oblige de les empeſcher.

Next the Miniſters, his great care is to inſtil into the People a great averſion for the Loyal Judges and Magiſtrates, but if they warp a little, then he admires them for men, and lovers of the Liberty of the People. Judges and Magiſtrates.

But that which, next Hanging, is moſt dreadful to him are the Loyal Gentry and their dependents; Theſe he knows can neither be wheedled nor frighted generally, and therefore all the Forces he provideth are only againſt theſe Canaanites, who keep the good People out of the Land of Promiſe; or make their lives uneaſie in it, by denying them liberty of Conſcience to be of any Religion, or none, as occaſion ſerveth; beſides, they have great Eſtates, good meat and drink, and ſome Authority, all which belong to the Godly. Gentry.

After Liberty of Conſcience he places a Lawleſs Licence to do what he liſt, and take what he pleaſe; which he calls Property; for he would fain have the Hedge broken down, that all mens Eſtates, Wives, and Daughters might be common to him, which is the moſt beloved Notion he has *Reipublicæ*, of a Commonwealth. Liberty and Property.

His

Books. His Study is well ſtuffed with ſeditious Pamphlets and intelligences, but his Staple Author is the Leviathan, which he hath read ten times oftener than the Bible, and Practiſeth a thouſand times more, yet he hath a good Parcel of other Commonwealth Authors too, and admires nothing in the Greeks and Romans but their hatred to Monarchy, and love of Liberty and Popular Governments, and were it not for this, would be contented all their Books were burnt.

Fears and Jealouſies. When all things are well he frights the little Folk with Predictions of what may be, or is intended ſhall be, and the leſs probable the thing is, the more eaſily it is ſometimes believed. Only the wonder is, men ſhould court Fear, and fall in love with Jealouſie: which are uneaſie Paſſions to them, but profitable to our Gentleman, who to create them in his Followers, pretends himſelf horribly over-run with them; when indeed his only fear is, he ſhould not (after ſo many Cheats put upon the People) be believed.

Plot. The Plot and the Duke are his two great Pretences, and he wiſheth they may never fail till he hath overthrown the Monarchy, for then he ſhall want his beſt handles to take the People by.

Priviledge. Priviledge of Parliament is his laſt retreat, and if that fails, then he muſt take *Achitophels* courſe, and ſet his houſe in Order, to provide for what follows.

This belongs to the 3d part of y
Address

An Advertiſement.

THe Author of this Diſcourſe being out of diſtance to attend the Preſs, finds ſeveral *Errata's* in it, which he recommends to the Candour of the Intelligent Reader, as matters of little or no Importance to the Frame or Scope of his Deſign. But in the Page 99. he finds a very Groſs Miſtake, by leaving out of one Entire Line in the *Manuſcript*, which he Imputes to a ſlip of the Compoſitors, there being *Two Lines together* beginning with the *Two ſame Words*, viz, [*Have a*] The Error runs thus. As ſoon as ever the Bill paſs, the Duke will have a *Right* to make a War upon *England*, even in his Majeſties Life-time. Which is not only a Contradiction to the *Reaſon* and *Juſtice* of the Caſe, but to the *Doctrine* alſo of the *Author* in ſeveral Paſſages of the Book. Wherefore it is deſired that it may be *Rectified* according to the *Original Manuſcript*; That is to ſay,

So ſoon as ever the Bill paſs, the Duke will have a kind of Popular Colour, *though he cannot have a* Right, *to make a War upon* England, *even in his Majeſties Life-time.*